

**Québec and China during the First Half of the Twentieth Century**

Serge Granger

A Thesis

in

The Department

Of

History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

December 2002

© Serge Granger, 2002



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services

Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file    Votre référence*

*ISBN: 0-612-85255-5*

*Our file    Notre référence*

*ISBN: 0-612-85255-5*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

**Canada**

**The Postcolonial State and Nation in the Articulation of Development and  
Communication Policy in Ghana**

Amin Mohammed Alhassan

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Communication Studies

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

June 2003

© Amin Mohammed Alhassan

## ABSTRACT

### Québec and China during the First Half of the Twentieth Century

Serge Granger, Ph.D.  
Concordia University, 2002

China has attracted foreign merchants, intellectuals, diplomats, soldiers, and missionaries. Québec experience in China during the first half of the twentieth century involved a range of people who witnessed the substantial social and political transformation of China. Their comments on China provided Québec with a window on the world and enriched awareness of China in Québec. Québec's China experience challenges the view that Québec was isolated before the so-called Quiet Revolution.

Missionaries were the predominant Québec group that had contact with China in the first half of the twentieth century. Their experience in China was particularly interesting because it impacted on a great majority of Québec students, who were offered an image of China as a nation in need of rejuvenation. Christianity was to provide the morality needed to overcome China's national despair. Chinese governments were traditionally secular and subordinated religion to state power. By encompassing three different stages of Chinese history (imperial, republican and communist), the thesis provides an overview of Québec's experience in China despite significant changes in the Chinese political framework. It also provides a better understanding on how China dealt with foreigners. The Chinese attempt to adopt a modern form of government represents the application of a new state structure to a very large number of people, perhaps the greatest ever.

The study is divided into four parts detailing the stages of Québec involvement in China. The first part examines early encounters between Québec and China and how the republican revolution of 1912 encouraged the arrival of Québec missionaries in China. The second part focuses on the republican period (1912-1937) characterized by warlords and political instability in China. Québec missionaries distrusted the Guomindang and did not see the unification of China under the new political party as feasible. Québec missionaries believed that China's republicans were spiritually impaired and incapable of dealing with democratic reforms. The third part details Québec involvement in wartime China (1937-1949). Québec comments reveal an interesting evaluation of the Chinese government under Japanese control. The final part argues that the communist takeover of China forced Québec to disengage from China for political and religious reasons. Zhou Enlai's (1905-1976) support for the religious Three-Self movement fostered the nationalization of religion with the creation of the Chinese Patriotic Church (1957), seen as schismatic by Québec missionaries. As for impact, Québec Catholic missionaries pressured the Canadian government not to recognize China during the Cold War.

Sources consist mainly of Québec missionary periodicals and archives, which are quite voluminous. Secular sources (governmental, academic, and journalistic) have also been consulted to reconstruct Québec's secular vision of China. Other sources reflect the multi-faceted nature of Québec experience in China and a deep admiration for the Chinese world and its ability to assimilate foreign influence and revive.



## RÉSUMÉ

### Le Québec en Chine durant la première moitié du vingtième siècle

Serge Granger, Ph.D.  
Concordia University, 2002

La Chine séduit le commerçant, l'intellectuel, le diplomate, le militaire et le missionnaire. L'engagement du Québec en Chine durant la première moitié du vingtième siècle englobait ces différentes personnes témoins de la transformation sociale et politique de la Chine. Leurs commentaires sur la Chine représente une fenêtre sur le monde et enrichit la connaissance de la sinologie au Québec. L'expérience québécoise en Chine brise la vision historique du Québec isolé d'avant la Révolution tranquille (1960).

Les missionnaires furent le principal groupe à commenter sur la Chine. Leur expérience est particulièrement intéressante, car ils projetaient aux étudiants une certaine image de la Chine, caractérisée par un besoin de renouveau social. La Chrétienté était le remède proposé au désespoir national chinois. Par contre, la Chine avait la tradition d'aliéner les affaires religieuses au pouvoir étatique. En surplombant trois périodes distinctes de l'histoire chinoise (impériale, républicaine et communiste) nous procure une anthologie du Québec en Chine peu importe le système gouvernemental chinois. La tentative chinoise d'adopter un État moderne reproduit l'application d'une nouvelle structure gouvernementale à un grand nombre d'habitants, probablement la plus grande jamais tentée dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

Cette recherche sera divisée en quatre parties détaillant les étapes de l'expérience québécoise en Chine. La première partie explique comment le contact initial avec la Chine s'effectue et pourquoi la révolution républicaine de 1912 attise l'arrivée de missionnaires du Québec en Chine. La deuxième partie vise la période républicaine (1912-1937) caractérisée par les seigneurs de la guerre et l'instabilité politique. Les missionnaires du Québec étaient sceptiques envers le Guomindang et doutaient de la réunification de la Chine sous ce parti politique. Les missionnaires québécois jugeaient ce parti spirituellement diminué et incapable de gérer les réformes démocratiques. La troisième partie détaille l'implication du Québec en Chine en période de guerre (1937-1949). Les commentaires québécois sont particulièrement intéressants dans l'évaluation du gouvernement chinois sous l'occupation japonaise. La dernière partie affirme que la victoire communiste allait forcer le Québec à quitter la Chine pour des raisons politiques et religieuses. Zhou Enlai (1905-1976) dirigea le mouvement de la Triple Autonomie qui, finalement, allait nationaliser la religion avec la création de l'Église Patriotique de Chine (1957), perçue comme schismatique par les missionnaires québécois. Ainsi, ils pressaient le gouvernement canadien à ne pas reconnaître la Chine durant la guerre froide.

Les sources assez volumineuses consistent principalement de périodiques et d'archives missionnaires. Les sources gouvernementale, académique ou journalistique ont été consultées afin de contribuer à la vision séculaire du Québec en Chine. Elles confirment l'aspect multiforme du Québec en Chine capable d'absorber l'étranger pour renaître.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research took six years to complete. Within those six years I encountered numerous people who encouraged me and who provided me with material or ideas that helped in the writing of the thesis.

First of all, I would like to thank my academic sponsors. Concordia University has been good to me. When I was applying for graduate studies, professors from Concordia University took the time to listen to my project. It must be known that if it were not for Dr. Martin Singer, this research would never have seen the light of day. He took the time to meet me in a downtown coffee shop and explained to me what I had to do to pursue graduate studies at Concordia University. Dr. Singer was a great China adviser and motivator and perhaps most important, he believed in me and supported my efforts. I would also like to thank Dr. John Hill for his great support and *joie de vivre*, Dr. Diubaldo who gave me insight in the Canadian/Québec dilemma in international affairs, and Dr. John F. Laffey for being a model of determination. Special thanks go to Dr. Charles Leblanc and Dr. Reeta C. Tremblay for agreeing to serve as external members of the thesis committee. Also, I would like to thank the staff of Concordia's History Department.

Second of all, I would like to thank my contributors and friends who provided me with sources needed for the completion of the thesis. In Québec, missionary archives were made available to me by different orders. Archivist Wilfrid Bernier of the

Clercs Saint-Viateur guided me through their amazing archives on Manchuria; Jesuit Joseph-Louis Goulet offered me substantial help at the Maison Bellarmin Center; and Soeur Mireille Morin of the Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception provided judicious insights on their congregation and its work in China. The château Ramezay provided me with information about trade between Nouvelle France and China. In Hong Kong Sister Betty Ann Maheu of the Holy Spirit Center permitted me to use their facilities; while in China, personnel of old Québec missions were delighted to offer me tea. Staff at public archives, especially those of the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, need to be recognized. I also thank Eiran Harris from the Jewish Public Library in Montréal and Richard Leclerc from the Ministère des Relations internationales du Québec. Finally, I am grateful to Benoît Duberger from the National Film Board of Canada for providing films on China to me.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge numerous people who provided help and encouragement to me. First of all, my family contributed with financial and human support. Their help came when needed. Merci Gervaise, brothers and sisters. Regards go to Wang Depeng for the talkative games of *xiangqi* and Zhang Xiulan for the *jiaozi*, Zhang Hua for his tremendous work in making travel easy in China, and Explorateur Voyages for all the plane tickets and for permitting me to stay in certain places in China to conduct research. I would also like to thank Sami Aoun, Patrick Beaupré, Charles Bussièrès, Piper Huggins, and Jeff Itcush. Finally, the greatest encouragement came from Wang Guiping for indulging a husband glued to the computer. Many Saturday nights were sacrificed for the completion of this work.

# Table of Contents

Introduction		1
<b>Part One:</b>	<b>Québec's First Encounters with Imperial China (1715-1912)</b>	19
Chapter I	Sporadic Relations Between Québec and China, 1715-1901	20
Chapter II	1902-1912: Québec/China Relations during the Last Qing Decade	48
<b>Part Two:</b>	<b>Québec's Involvement in Republican China (1912-1937)</b>	67
Chapter III	Québec's Involvement in Warlord China (1912-1927)	68
Chapter IV	Québec's Perception of the Guomindang (1927-1937)	120
<b>Part Three:</b>	<b>Québec in Wartime China (1937-1949)</b>	158
Chapter V	Québec in China during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)	159
Chapter VI	Civil War and Québec Reaction (1945-1949)	195
<b>Part four:</b>	<b>Québec's Disengagement from China (1949-1957)</b>	222
Chapter VII	China's Nationalization of Religion and its Impact on Québec Missionaries	223
Chapter VIII	Exile from the People's Republic of China: Québec's Cold War	251
Conclusion		272
Bibliography		279
Appendices		300

# Introduction

Québec's interest in China goes back more than 250 years. Trade was the first motivation for contact between Québec and China. After the creation of Canada in 1867, rail brought the first Chinese to Québec. Their presence inevitably aroused curiosity. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Québec missionaries began to work in China, becoming the predominant group in Québec/China relations until the 1950s. At the turn of the century, relations between Québec and China became more complete with the involvement of lay people. Its involvement in China provided Québec with a window on the world, thereby challenging the traditional view that Québec was isolated before the Quiet Revolution.

This thesis ties China to Québec's opening to the world and describes how Chinese civilization impacted on Québec's vision of international affairs. The fact that China occupied a large space in Québec's literature on international affairs during the first half of the twentieth century demonstrates that some Quebecers could travel literally and figuratively outside their supposedly isolated world. This study also challenges the traditional view of historians who consider both China and Québec to be isolated, autarchic, and hermetic. They are often described as isolationist, a statement with which I disagree. Even though geography and culture were considerable obstacles, Québec and China had significant relations during the first half of the twentieth century.

The Québec experience in China was never limited to religious conversions and theological endeavours; it also spread to other spheres of Québec society. There were secular Quebecers (mostly intellectuals) who had the opportunity to travel to China, but their impact was overshadowed by the Québec missionary movement. These Québec intellectuals included governmental officials, doctors, journalists and travelers. Their experiences provide another perspective on China and contribute to the non-religious side of Québec/China relations.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Québec impressions of China were transmitted to the majority of the Québec population mainly through religious orders. Missionaries were the main medium by which Quebecers saw China, particularly Catholic missionaries since Catholicism was the predominant religion of Québec. Missionary periodicals and organizations carefully transmitted news about their work and experience in China. Almost all Québec Catholic children, were asked to help missions by symbolically adopting *les petits Chinois*, by giving money for the construction of schools in China and/or by collecting stamps for Québec's greatest missionary effort of all time.

Considering the relatively small size of the Québec population, the missionary experience may be considered as a great human effort that provided an open window on a distant culture. Québec missionaries in China were the first people to transmit the outside world to Québec ears; they influenced many citizens. Québec missionaries saw their involvement in China as a long-term commitment. They saw China as a depraved model of paganism needing rejuvenation. Québec missionaries made great efforts to convert to

Christianity the Middle Kingdom; their patience, determination and commitment seemed almost endless. During the Depression of the 1930s and the World War Two, Quebecers continued to donate money for missions still operating in China. *La Sainte-Enfance* and other missionary enterprises received hundreds of thousands of dollars from Québec donors. It is difficult to survey how many Quebecers were asked to contribute to China missions, but almost all children in Québec did.

From the Boxers (1900) until the creation of the Chinese Patriotic Church (1957), Québec missionaries were privileged witnesses to Chinese history. During the first half of the twentieth century, the Chinese scenario changed dramatically: China saw the end of the millennial imperial system, two revolutions, warlords, Western encroachment, and Japanese invasion and occupation. Québec missionaries had a chance to observe the transformation of China. Even during the worst times, most Québec missionaries stayed at their posts. War and revolutions were part of this great missionary adventure. Missionary sources reflect Westerners' perspectives on the end of imperial China, the failure of the republican system, and the victory of communism. Missionary observations provide varied portraits of China, some revealing a deep admiration of the Chinese world, others denouncing atheism.

Québec missionaries were present in all corners of China. Presbyterians and Methodists were active in Sichuan and Zhejiang. The Clercs St-Viateur operated in Manchuria; the Soeurs missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception were present in numerous missions, such as Guangzhou (Canton), Seping kai, and Hong Kong; Québec

Jesuits worked in Xuzhou, Northwest Jiangsu; the Franciscaines missionaries were in Shandong; and Notre-Dame-des-Anges missionaries were present in Fujian and Guiyang, Southwest China. Other Québec missionaries worked in frontier regions such as Yunnan, Mongolia and the Tibetan steppes.

It is also important to examine how the missionary engagement in China impacted on the Québec intellect, people and politics. The fact that the clergy nearly monopolized Québec schools certainly gave it considerable control over the dissemination of information about China to a student audience. Québec missionary activities in China were reported as an act of contrition in a land of paganism where the spirit of Christianity would rejuvenate Chinese society. The messages sent to Québec from China described a land ravaged by warlords and instability due to a vacuum of faith. Not surprisingly, this message emerged when the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) was in its last days. The republican revolution of 1912 ended more than three thousands years of dynastic rule and hopes for a new era were high. However, China's failure to establish an effective constitutional government after the imperial collapse demonstrated that the country was indeed in need of some kind of rejuvenation.

In parallel with Québec's discovery of China, some Chinese revolutionaries visited Québec and argued that China must modernize. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) visited Montréal three times in 1897, 1907, and 1911, but his visits were superficial compared with the visit of exiled Chinese revolutionary Liang Qichao (1873-1945). Liang visited Montréal in 1902 and wrote about Québec-Canada relations. His trips around the world



reinforced his belief that China should adopt a constitutional monarchy as Canada (1867) and Japan (1868) had already done. Liang was opposed to republicanism for China because he felt that China should hold on to traditional Chinese values such as Confucianism and symbols such as monarchy. Ironically, when Liang returned to China to become Justice and Finance Minister in the new government, it was in a republican system and not a constitutional monarchy.

The Republican era (1912-1949) represents the zenith of Québec/China contacts. The Republican era constitutes a transitional period between traditional and modern China because it was the theater of numerous changes (technological, political, educational and religious). These changes brought Québec and China closer. Although the Republican era was the high point of Québec/China relation, I prefer to widen the study to the 1902-1957 period. As a result, the study touches three distinct eras of Chinese history: the imperial system prior to 1912, the Republic (1912-1949), and the communist period after 1949. Studying three different periods of modern Chinese history allows me to compare the Chinese reaction to missionaries and foreigners across the multiple political changes that China experienced in the twentieth century. For the purpose of the study, the 1902-1957 period also provides a broader view of how Chinese governments, no matter what their political régime, manipulated religion. In my view, the study of religion under the republican and communist regimes has been neglected. Québec missionary reaction to the different Chinese governments provides an insightful account of interaction between the West and the East, most of which is based on misunderstanding.

I have chosen 1902 as the official start of contacts between Québec and China because these contacts became institutionalized and were no longer only the prerogative of a few missionaries. Government officials, traders, revolutionaries and missionaries embarked on their great voyages to China. Québec pan-Christian (Catholic and Protestant) missionary involvement in China began when two Québec Franciscan Sisters of Mary were sent in 1902 to replace French nuns who had been killed during the Boxer movement (1900). The Catholic religious and missionary congregations joined Protestants in the China mission experience, making it a complete pan-Christian involvement with the Orient. The government of Canada also appointed a Commercial official in Shanghai in 1905. From this time, the missionary link and the Canadian government's China presence institutionalized Québec's contact with China.

Two reasons explain the decision to end the study of Québec experience in China in 1957. First, the Chinese adopted an isolationist policy during the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961); even Russian experts were expelled from China. Mao Zedong (1893-1976) was leading the country with isolationist policies. Second, the creation of the Chinese Patriotic Church ultimately severed all religious links between China and Québec. Québec Catholics considered the creation of this new Patriotic Church to be a break from the authority of the Vatican and refused to accept its legitimacy. Québec Catholic missionaries posted in China were not prepared to work under the authority of the new Church, so they were forced to leave the country under intense pressure from the Chinese communist government. Campaigns for *les petits chinois* ended. Most of the Québec Catholic missionaries who left China under duress in the early 1950s were exiled to Hong

Kong, Macao, and Taiwan before returning to Québec or being posted in other parts of the world. Quebecer's exclusion from communist China transformed the nature of Québec-China relations; Québec involvement in China after 1957 came to a standstill until the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1970. After Québec missionaries departed from China, Québec involvement in China resumed in a different dimension; the religious link was abandoned and replaced by a group of Quebecers who reported back home on the transformation under way in China. Subsequent relations between Québec and China became more secular.

Canada played a diplomatic and economic role in Québec/China relations. The level of contact between Ottawa and China encouraged prominent Québec personalities such as Georges-Étienne Chapleau, Sir Wilfrid Pelletier, Rodolphe Lemieux, Lord Van Horne, Dr. Norman Bethune, Alain Grandbois and Louis St-Laurent to become involved in Chinese affairs. Meetings between different Canadian Prime Ministers and Chinese revolutionaries reflected the need for Canadian Premiers from Québec to elaborate a China policy.

The purpose of this exercise has been to search as much as possible for any Québec/China sources. The purpose of this exercise was to verify the different facets of Québec/China relations, making clear that relations were not exclusively religious. The intensity of Québec/China relations spilled over into other sectors of Québec society; literature, arts, education, and politics in Québec were at different times, concerned with China. Thousands of kilometres away, China was a major window for Quebecers who

were interested in another culture. In the same way, Québec presence in some remote areas of China was not confined to the religious field. The numerous schools and social services provided by Québec missionaries in China introduced a new way of life to the Chinese.

By examining China's history from the perception of Québec sources I hope to increase Québec's interest in China. It is always more exciting to learn about history when you can identify with the actors. Yet, I may need to define Québec involvement in China. I have favored printed material dealing with the experience of any person who lived in Québec and went to China. It did not matter if the person stayed a longer or a shorter period in China. Some people may have been in Québec and China for only a short time, but they enriched Québec/China relations greatly. On the other hand, a person who stayed a long period may have lived quietly without having much to say. Therefore, any sources that had anything to do with Québec/China relations have been considered.

Finally, this study wishes to broaden the history of Québec's relations with the outside world. I believe that the international dimension of Québec's history needs more exploration. China, though geo-culturally distant, will serve as an international example, which contributed to Québec's history and to its evolution. By the middle of the twentieth century, more than one thousand Quebecers had traveled to China. Needless to say, this involvement fostered Sinology in Québec. By studying the Québec experience in China we are also examining the evolution of Sinology in Québec.

No book studies Québec's overall involvement in China. Alvyn Austin's *Saving China* (1986)<sup>1</sup> examines the Canadian missionary experience in China, but his work on Québec needs elaboration. Austin's book is a great inspiration, but the author barely uses Québec sources, giving his book little Catholic missionary input. On the other hand, Lionel Groulx's *Histoire du Canada Français missionnaire* (1962)<sup>2</sup> depicts the involvement of French Canadian missionaries throughout the world, but does not elaborate on the Chinese historical context as far as Québec is concerned. Groulx's perception of missionary work tends to be patronizing toward other cultures and religions, and he portrays the rejection of Christianity as the rejection of modernism. His perception of missionary work reflects the myth that French-Canadians were chosen to enlighten pagans with the spirit of Catholicism. Henri Bourassa's *Canada apostolique* was published in 1919, much too early to provide a thorough study.<sup>3</sup>

Québec missionary congregations began studying their past involvement in China only recently. Many of these studies portray the work of Québec missionaries in China, but they fall short in presenting Chinese historical context.<sup>4</sup> They are bi-dimensional: the focus is on the interaction between the missionary and China; they tend to focus on the experiences of individual Québec missionaries in China. Although this type of literature is

---

<sup>1</sup> Alvyn Austin, *Saving China, Canadian Mission in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

<sup>2</sup> Lionel Groulx, *Le Canada français missionnaire* (Montréal: Fides, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> Henri Bourassa, *Le Canada Apostolique* (Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1919).

<sup>4</sup> See Irene Mahomey, *Avec toi jusqu'au bout du monde, 30 ans de mission ursuline en Chine* (Québec: Éditions Anne Sigier, 1997); Prosper Bernard, *De l'autre côté de la terre: la Chine* (Montréal: Sciences et Cultures, 2000); and René Bacon, *Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges* (Lennoxville: Missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges, 1996).

interesting, the international context surrounding Québec missionary involvement in China is absent. This study proposes to present the international dimension of Québec/China relations by using a wide range of sources providing a multifaceted picture of Québec involvement in China.

Sources relating to Québec/China relations written before 1957 were mainly produced by members of religious and missionary congregations. Most of the Québec books on China written between 1902 and 1937 recall the ecumenical work of missionaries and how much their mission was in need of recruits to evangelize China. Books such as Bonaventure Péloquin's *Débuts d'un Missionnaire* (1922)<sup>5</sup> were re-printed and sold over 10,000 copies, surely influencing the mind of future missionaries who dreamed of the exotic Orient. Like many other missionary books, most of these publications focus on the life in the mission and little is said about the political situation in China.

The Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) encouraged a different type of publication about China in Québec. Political, historical and ideological literature about China began appearing. Jean Ho published the book *Le triple demisme: principes politiques et sociaux*

---

<sup>5</sup> Bonaventure Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire* (Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire, 1922).

*de la République Chinoise* (1928).<sup>6</sup> Urbain-Marie Cloutier, a Catholic priest explained the reasons for war in his study *Le Conflit sino-japonais* (1938).<sup>7</sup>

More biographical books concerning Québec and China were published in the late 1940s and 1950s. They set a different tone by demonstrating how Québec missionaries were exiled from China and how they had coped with the Chinese Communist Party. Publications such as Antonio Dragon's *En mission parmi les Rouges* (1946)<sup>8</sup>, Léo-Paul Bourassa's *Tactiques communistes contre l'Église, l'expérience chinoise* (1949)<sup>9</sup>, Jean Ho's *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste?* (1949)<sup>10</sup>, Gilbert Édouard's *Entr' quatre murailles: quatre ans internement en Mandchourie* (1952)<sup>11</sup> and Gérard Filion's *Rideau de fer au rideau de préjugés* (1953)<sup>12</sup> are interesting testimonies which help us to understand the beginning of communism in China and how the CCP proceeded with the nationalization of religion in China.

---

<sup>6</sup> Jean Ho, *Le triple demisme: principes politiques et sociaux de la République Chinoise* (Montréal: Institut Véritas, 1952).

<sup>7</sup> Urbain-Marie Cloutier, *Le Conflit sino-japonais* (Québec: [s.n.], 1938).

<sup>8</sup> Antonio Dragon, *En mission parmi les Rouges* (Montréal: Le Messager Canadien, 1946).

<sup>9</sup> Léo Paul Bourassa, *Tactiques communistes contre l'Église: l'expérience chinoise* (Montréal: Éditions de l'Heure, 1962).

<sup>10</sup> Jean Ho, *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste* (Montréal: Édition de la Ligue anti-communiste, 1949).

<sup>11</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa, *Entr' quatre murailles: quatre ans internement en Mandchourie* (Pont-Viau: Éditions Missions-Étrangères, 1946).

<sup>12</sup> Gérard Filion, *Rideau de fer ou rideau de préjugés* (Montréal: Le Devoir, 1953).

The Québec mission that has been the most examined is the Jesuit mission in Xuzhou, Northern Jiangsu. Four books have been published about this mission alone. The first was written by Édouard Lafortune (*Les Canadiens en Chine*, 1931)<sup>13</sup> and details the life of the Chinese, their religious beliefs and how Québec missionaries worked in China. However, little historical background is presented in the book. The most historical study is Rosario Renaud's *Suchow, Diocèse de Chine, 1882-1931* (1955)<sup>14</sup> which examines the Xuzhou mission in which he served for fourteen years. His perspective on the Chinese political environment is particularly evident in his second work *Le Diocèse de Suchow, Chine* published in 1982.<sup>15</sup> The Xuzhou mission was also the subject of Jacques Langlais' theology Ph.D. dissertation published under the title *Les Jésuites du Québec en Chine, 1921-1958* (1979)<sup>16</sup>. This study focuses mainly on the Jesuit mission of Xuzhou; it does not consider the global Chinese picture. Langlais examines the missionaries' reaction to paganism and to Chinese rites and customs. The study contains one chapter on Xuzhou missionaries' reaction to Chinese politics, but little is said about constraints in China's that affected the mission. Furthermore, the author barely examines the effect of the Three Autonomies policy on Québec missionaries. The Three Autonomies policy was a considerable menace to the mission.

---

<sup>13</sup> Édouard Lafortune, *Canadiens en Chine; croquis du Siu-tcheou fou* (Montréal: L'Action Paroissiale, 1930).

<sup>14</sup> Rosario Renaud, *Suchow, diocèse de Chine, 1882-1931* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1955).

<sup>15</sup> Rosario Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Suchow (Chine), Champ apostolique des Jésuites canadiens de 1918-1954* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1982).

<sup>16</sup> Jacques Langlais, *Les Jésuites du Québec en Chine, 1918-1955* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1979).



The primary sources used for this study consist mainly of Québec missionary periodicals and archives. Periodicals such as *Les Annales des Soeurs Franciscaines*, *Missions-Étrangères* (1918), *Le Précurseur* (1920), *Missions Franciscaines* (1921), *Missions Étrangères* (1923) and *Le Brigand* (1930) appeared as Québec's earliest journals with an international focus. The subsequent appearance of periodicals on Québec missionary activity in China (such as *Mission Outlook*, *Mission Saint-Viateur*, *Missions des Pères du St-Esprit*) also contributed to the international literature available in Québec. All of the available issues in the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec until 1958 have been consulted. Visiting different missionary orders in Québec also gave me access to periodicals not available in governmental institutions and university libraries.<sup>17</sup>

One of the greatest limitations of Québec missionary sources is that many texts are devoted to stories of Chinese adopting Christianity and refer little to the political scene. However, these sources depict the rapid social development that China was going through during its interaction with the West. All the above periodicals have been examined to retrieve the political observations of Québec missionaries in China and how they perceived the rapid social and political transformation of China. Comments on the Guomindang (GMD) government, the Japanese occupation and the communist victory have been particularly analyzed in comparison with non-missionary sources. In addition, Catholic and Protestant missionary comments have been compared to see if Chinese politics and policies affected the two clergies differently. The best example of the divergence between Québec Catholics and Protestants in China is expressed in Richard C. Bush's book

---

<sup>17</sup> Visits to the Jesuits, Clercs Saint-Viateur, and the Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception.

*Religion in Communist China* (1970)<sup>18</sup>. The author uses Chinese sources, which add to his understanding of China's policies and attitudes toward religion in the 1950s.

Aside from Liang Qichao's book *Hsin ta lu yun chi chieh lu*,<sup>19</sup> Chinese sources concerning Québec involvement in China are limited to official daily newspapers such as the China Daily and releases from the official New China News Agency retrieved from the Foreign Broadcast International Service (FBIS). Religious statements by the Chinese governments were considered, whether imperial, republican or communist to compare the religious policy of China no matter which government was in place.

Personal archives such as those of Alain Grandbois' held at the Bibliothèque Nationale were consulted to enhance my understanding of his knowledge about China and how it was transmitted to the Québec public by radio. The Soeurs Missionnaires Immaculée-Conception, les Clercs Saint-Viateur, and the Jesuits gave me a certain quantity of archives to examine. In addition, museums such as the Musée de la Civilisation in Québec City agreed to allow me to examine their two lots of *chinoiseries* and the papers relating to it. These documents are especially valuable because they give another dimension to Québec/China relations during the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>18</sup> Richard C. Bush, *Religion in Communist China* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970).

<sup>19</sup> Liang Qichao, *Hsin ta lu yun chi chieh lu* (Shanghai: Chung Hua Shu Chu, 1937). (Xin da lu you ji jie lu: Excerpt of my New Itinerary).

Films also provided background material on Québec/China relations. There are about twenty China-related films at the National Film Board (NFB) and the Québec Cinémathèque. Most of this interesting footage was filmed by missionaries and was used to inform Québec school children and the Québec public about missionary work in China. Another set of footage produced by the NFB reports on the situation in China during World War Two; these films were viewed in Québec cinemas as news releases before the main feature and influenced Canada's official policy towards China and Japan during World War Two.

## **Structure**

This thesis is divided into four parts. Part One outlines Québec involvement in imperial China from the start of the XVIIIth century to 1912. Chapters One and Two examine this initial contact in nineteenth century China. Chapter One details how sporadic relations between Québec and China led to continuous relations beginning in the twentieth century. It also demonstrates that Québec's involvement in China was both secular and religious. Chapter Two looks at different aspects of Québec involvement in China and how Quebecers perceived the Chinese Republican revolution of 1912 as an opportunity to accelerate contacts with China. It suggests that during this early period Canadian missionaries, traders and governmental officials believed that China was drawing closer to the West.

Part Two (Chapters Three and Four) details how Quebecers viewed the social and political transformation of China during the early republican period (1912-1937). This period can be considered to be the apex of Québec's involvement in China during the first half of the twentieth century. Chapter Three deals with Québec's involvement during the warlord period before 1927 and how political instability in China affected Québec's perception of the new Chinese republic. Chapter Four explores why Québec missionaries, mainly Catholics, were skeptical about Sun Yat-sen and his political party, the GMD. From the sources that are available, it appears that most Québec missionaries did not believe that the GMD would be able to reform China and bring it closer to reunification.

Part Three of the thesis focuses on Québec involvement in China during World War Two. Chapter Five examines the impact of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) on Québec/China relations and how it temporarily halted travel by Quebecers to China. The Sino-Japanese War encouraged a more political view of China; an array of new literature available in Québec stressed the need to support China, Dr. Norman Bethune took the sides of the Communists, Québec Protestant missionaries sided with the GMD, while the Catholics stayed at their posts in Japanese-occupied China. Catholic observations of the Japanese-backed Chinese “puppet” government provide interesting insights on how the Chinese collaborationist government evolved during wartime. Chapter Six looks at the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949) and how almost all Quebecers in China supported the GMD and Chiang Kai-shek against the communists.

Part Four of the thesis focuses on the communist revolution and its immediate impact on Québec/China relations. Two chapters are needed to explain Québec's disengagement from China. Chapter Seven argues that the traditional Chinese pattern of nationalizing religion was the final blow to Québec missionary involvement in China. On a more secular note, Chapter Eight explains that Québec missionaries, especially Catholics, did what they could to pressure the Canadian government not to recognize the new Chinese government. Québec's Cold War was thus both religious and ideological.

The conclusion of the study argues that Québec had an impact in China as much as China impacted on Québec. Politics, diplomacy, trade, culture, religion, war and literature during the first half of the twentieth century influenced Québec-China relations. Québec's presence in China accelerated the globalizing effect of trade and culture, while contact with China altered Québec popular and elite culture. More than a thousand individuals from Québec traveled to China during the first half of the twentieth century. They provided Québec with a window on the world and were witnesses to China's rapid social and political transformation.

## Part One: Québec's First Encounters with Imperial China

Our understanding of the early stage of Québec's encounter with imperial China remains fragmented because the involvement was sporadic. Trade was possible only when the economic climate permitted and therefore Québec's commercial interest and presence in China was not continuous. Before the twentieth century, Québec missionaries went to China independently rather than being sent by congregations. They took administrative positions in the different western concessions in China. Nevertheless, those who went to nineteenth century China prepared the way for Québec's greater involvement abroad in the first half of the twentieth century.

Québec missionaries were the principal group that introduced China to Québec because they were in the best position to travel there. They were educated and the protection of missionaries by treaties permitted such adventure in China. At the time, the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) was hostage to Confucian decline; conservatism hindered any chance of rejuvenation. In addition, the semi-colonization of China by Western powers accelerated China's decline. China's defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) had a devastating effect on the Chinese gentry. It showed that China had been surpassed by one of its cultural *protégé*. The Boxer Uprising (1900), which was the last traditional Chinese effort to reject the West, demonstrated the incapacity of the Qing to modernize and to quell its internal problems. Québec missionaries believed that the Republican Revolution and the end of imperial rule would encourage the modernization of China.

# Chapter I

## Sporadic Relations Between Québec and China, 1715-1901

Québec relations with China before the twentieth century were sporadic because no Québec institution oversaw the sending of individuals to China. During this period, trade was the major motivation linking Québec and China and commercial opportunities were dependent on Chinese demands and attitudes. When China had to close the door to trade, the West forced it open with “unequal treaties.” Those treaties permitted Western missionaries to live and work in China; some Quebecers used the protection afforded by this provision to remain in China.

This chapter examines how the colonial status of New France limited Québec's potential trade with China. Yet, when an economic opportunity occurred, some French and Québec traders responded enthusiastically, particularly in the case of ginseng. Nevertheless, relations remained sporadic. This chapter suggests that Québec's new status as a British colony (1763), facilitated Québec's potential trade with Asia. Québec became part of Britain's international network of trade which meant that colonial policies were now decided in London. The inclusion of Québec in Britain's trading web generated opportunities for Quebecers wishing to reach China. Individuals who served in this network sometimes worked in Québec and brought their colonial experience with them to China and India. On the other hand, those working in the British colonial network also

brought their Asia experience to Québec. This chapter argues that the creation of Canada (1867) favored Québec's Asia trade. Prominent Montréal businessmen believed that trade with China would become profitable once the transcontinental railway was completed. The completion of the Canadian Pacific railway facilitated the arrival of the first Chinese in Québec. China became closer. This chapter also details how Québec missionaries were the beneficiaries of French and British involvement in China. Université Laval encouraged Québec missionary fascination with China, while Protestants used the China Inland Mission as a springboard for work in China. The opening of a Chinese museum in Québec City in 1879 raised awareness of China and paved the way for further involvement of Québec in China. Québec Catholic missionary interest in China began as a private activity of independent missionaries before religious groups institutionalized Québec's involvement in China.

The connection between Québec and China dates back to the beginning of the French colony (1608-1760). Some explorers thought that Québec was "la Chine," while others believed that North America was the Asian continent.<sup>20</sup> In the earliest stage of the colony, a French Jesuit missionary in New France left for China in 1650. Jesuit Adrien Greslon (1618-1696) stayed in China for forty-three years and wrote *Histoire de la Chine*

---

<sup>20</sup> René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle (1643-1695) believed that China was a few kilometers upstream from the Rapides-de-Lachine. Ultimately, La Salle did not discover China but instead he became the first to navigate the full length of the Mississippi and founded Louisiana.



*sous la domination des Tartares.*<sup>21</sup> Greslon may be considered to be the first Sinologist ever to set foot in Québec.

The Jesuit network permitted individuals to work in both Québec and China. In his comparative study on Jesuit strategies in China and New France (Québec), historian Li Shenwen suggests that the college of La Flèche (France) produced a number of Jesuit missionaries who created a world-wide network of information about the non-European world. Li asks whether Québec Jesuits had contacts with Jesuits in China. For sure, the first intellectual controversy between Québec and China dates back as far as 1689 when Mgr de Laval permitted Jesuit Father Letellier's book on Chinese rites to circulate in New-France.<sup>22</sup> The religious authorities of New France kept a close eye on the Chinese Rites Controversy because numerous Jesuits were coming to the French colony. By 1715 the Chinese Rites Controversy between the Pope and the Chinese Emperor was having literary repercussions in Québec; publications on Chinese Rites began to circulate.<sup>23</sup> The Jesuit network permitted individuals such as Pierre d'Incarville (1706-1757) to remain for a

---

<sup>21</sup> See Li Shenwen, *Stratégies missionnaires des jésuites français en Nouvelle-France et en Chine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001), p. 21. Greslon stayed in New-France from 1647 to 1650, he arrived in China in 1656 and stayed in Beijing until his death.

<sup>22</sup> Archives of the Musée de l'Amérique française, dossier CA 89-176. Michel Letellier's (1643-1719) wrote *Lettre d'un docteur en théologie à un missionnaire en Chine*, Paris, 1686; *Défense des nouveaux chrétiens et des missionnaires de la Chine, du Japon et des Indes contre deux livres intitulés: « la Morale pratique des Jésuites » et « l'Esprit de M. Arnauld »*, Paris 1687-1690.

<sup>23</sup> The Archives Nationales du Québec holds numerous books, memoirs, and letters concerning the Rites Controversy in China. This collection of books includes: *Mémoires pour Rome, sur l'état de la religion chrétienne dans la Chine* (France: [s. n.], 1709); *Commandement de N.S.P. le pape Clément XI: d'observer pleinement, ... ce qui a été décidé par Sa Sainteté dans l'affaire des cultes ou des cérémonies de la Chine* (Paris: [s.n.], 1715); *Lettre à messieurs du Séminaire des missions étrangères: sur ce qu'ils accusent les jésuites de ne s'être pas soumis sincèrement au nouveau décret touchant les affaires de la Chine*; [S.l.]: [s.n.], 1710; *L'État présent de l'église de la Chine adressé à monseigneur l'évêque de \*\*\** ([S.l.]: [s.n.], 1710).

decade in Québec before settling in China in 1740 to become the Chinese correspondent of the Académie des sciences de Paris.<sup>24</sup>

The Jesuit network also fostered trade between New France and China. In 1715 Jesuit Father François Lafitau (1681-1746) discovered ginseng that could be exported to China in Caughnawaga near Montréal.<sup>25</sup> The Mohawks had been using ginseng for centuries as a panacea. Lafitau's search for ginseng had begun when he read in the tenth book of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses sur la Chine* of the Jesuits a letter from Father Pétrus Jartoux (1668-1720), who was at the time, employed by Kangxi (1654-1722), the Chinese emperor. Jartoux reported on the Chinese fondness for ginseng,<sup>26</sup> which could probably be found in Canada. Ginseng could be exported from Québec to China because no ginseng was found in France and its export from Québec did not hinder the French economy. Lafitau sent dried specimens to Jartoux for confirmation by Chinese merchants. Lafitau then submitted the "Memoire Présenté à son Altesse Royal Monseigneur le Duc D'Orleans" in 1718 in which he described prospects for a prosperous trade between New France and China. In 1722 ginseng in Québec cost forty cents per pound and it could be sold in China for ten dollars per pound.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Li Shenwen, p. 47. Jesuit Pierre d'Incarville taught humanities and rhetoric in Nouvelle-France from 1730 to 1739. Pierre d'Incarville would subsequently become director of the Imperial gardens in Beijing in 1742.

<sup>25</sup> François Lafitau, *Mémoire présenté à son Altesse Royale Mgr. Le Duc D'Orléans, Régent de France, concernant la précieuse plante du gin-seng de Tartarie, découverte en Amérique par le père Joseph-François Lafitau de la Compagnie de Jésus, missionnaire du Sault St-Louis*. (1718).

<sup>26</sup> Father Jartoux's first letter concerning ginseng was sent to France in 1711. See "Une plante miracle: le Gin-seng" in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionnaires jésuites, 1702-1776* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1979), pp. 176-177.

<sup>27</sup> See Joseph Emilio Janelle, *L'histoire du Ginseng* (Caughnawaga: [s.n.], 1908).

Transport between New France and China in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was sporadic. French merchants came to Québec and went to China with *La Compagnie des Indes* with offices worldwide including the château Ramezay in Montréal and Pondicherry (India).<sup>28</sup> From India, ships sailed to Canton. It appears *Coureur des mers* Mathieu Saguean (1655-1710) was the first French-Canadian ever to travel from India to China in 1698.<sup>29</sup> With the exception of the brief market for ginseng, trade between New France (Québec) and China was quite minimal during French colonial days (1608-1760). People and products leaving Québec and arriving in China were rare, especially at a time when China was relatively closed to Western trade. Few Chinese products reached New France.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the mercantile policies of France limited the potential international trade of New France.<sup>31</sup> In 1733 a French royal edict prohibited all navigators, merchants

---

<sup>28</sup> The Compagnie des Indes orientales was founded in 1664 by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), minister of Louis XIV, King of France. Pondicherry became a French trading post in 1673. France's colonial companies in New-France repeatedly faced bankruptcy (Compagnie des Cent-associés). In 1719 John Law would introduce paper money in France and merge the Compagnie d'Occident (Montréal) and the Compagnie Orientales des Indes de Saint-Malo. La Compagnie des Indes or the Compagnie perpétuelle des Indes had the monopoly over New France trade from 1720 to 1760. The Compagnie finally ceased to operate in 1769 after the Seven Years War (1756-1763).

<sup>29</sup> Mathieu Saguean left Surat (India) on May 14<sup>th</sup> 1698 and reached Tainan (Taiwan) and Xiamen (Fujian) three months later. Pierre Berthiaume, *Relation des aventures de Mathieu Saguean, Canadien* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1999), pp. 138-155.

<sup>30</sup> China of the East India Company, belonging to the wife of the Seigneur de Terrebonne was donated to Madame Elizabeth de Ramezay, owner of the Château Ramezay in old Montreal. The China is dated 1720. The donation was been made in 1743. Unpublished paper handed to the author by the Château (June 27<sup>th</sup> 2002). See also *Le Nigog* about the sale of eighteenth century china in Québec. *Le Nigog*, vol. 1, no. 2, February 1918, p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> "Règlement pour le commerce...1723", Archives publiques du Canada, A1, liasse 61, pièce 80 in Alice Jean E. Lunn, *Développement économique de la Nouvelle-France 1713-1760* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), p. 237. "La politique du gouvernement facilitait et restreignait à la fois le commerce. Les doctrines mercantilistes du dix-huitième siècle interdisaient à la colonie de commercer avec des nations étrangères."

and seamen from bringing textiles and fabrics from Asia to Québec. Culprits were to pay a fine of 3,000 *livres* and to have their professional title revoked, while seamen received additionally a year in prison.<sup>32</sup> Mercantilism, a trademark of French colonial policy, did not permit economic takeoff in the colonies; rather it subordinated the colonies to the metropolis of Paris.

The Compagnie des Indes at first downplayed Québec ginseng as a potential trade product for export to China. Therefore, until the 1750's the Compagnie permitted its officers of its vessels to bring Québec ginseng to Canton privately.<sup>33</sup> In 1749<sup>34</sup> and 1751 French traders in LaRochelle ordered their Québec business associates to buy ginseng for export to China. The Compagnie des Indes finally began trading ginseng with China in 1752.<sup>35</sup> Total export reached its high point that year: more than \$100,000 worth of ginseng was sent from Québec to China where the value exceeded one million dollars.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> *Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy le 9 mai 1733*, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, RES AD 256. "Qui fait deffenses à tous Armateurs, Négocians: envoi des étoffes et toiles peintes des Indes, de Perse, de la Chine, ou du Levant." This edict also had the goal to set the trading routes of the French Western and Eastern Indies Company, therefore avoiding feuds concerning world markets.

<sup>33</sup> François Xavier Garneau said "Le gin-seng que les Chinois tiraient à grand frais du nord de l'Asie fut porté des bords du St.Laurent à Canton...Il en fut exporté, une année (1752), pour 500 000 francs." in Hospice Verreau's comments on the new edition of *Lafitau's Mémoire adressée to Duc D'Orléans* (Montréal: Typographie de Sénécal, Daniel et Compagnie, 1858), p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Hospice Verreau, p. 41. In 1749, Swedish scholar Kalm commented: "During my stay in Canada, all the merchants at Québec and Montréal, received orders from their correspondents in France, to send over a quantity of gin-seng, there being an uncommon demand for it in this summer."

<sup>35</sup> The French Indies Company would buy the Chateau Ramezay in Montréal and establish its main office in 1745.

<sup>36</sup> Janelle, p. 4. "Le Père Jartoux, alors missionnaire en Chine, donna une description de la plante et en envoya des échantillons de racines, de gaines et de feuilles au Révérend Père Joseph François Lafiteau (sic), Jésuite missionnaire chez les Iroquois du Canada. Cette découverte fut faite à Caughnawaga en 1715. Les annales du temps, conservées en manuscrits à l'église de la réserve Indienne de Caughnawaga en font une mention spéciale. Bientôt après sa découverte, les Français, qui alors gouvernaient le Canada, commencèrent à l'exporter en Chine par l'entremise de la Compagnie des Indes."

Two significant factors brought this trade to a virtual standstill within four years. First, Québec ginseng was sent to China until 1754 when profiteers began to send bad quality ginseng to China. As a result, the Chinese stopped buying Québec ginseng. Second, the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) between the French and the British ended the activities of the Compagnie des Indes in New France.

British rule in Québec (1760-1867) enhanced the possibility of trade with China. First, England replaced France's economic policies with fewer restrictions on trade. Second, this change expanded the opportunities for contacts between Québec and China because England's empire around the globe permitted a greater network of transportation for travel and trade. The British rule in Québec extended a network of colonial posts supporting trade with the Orient. In addition, Québec could benefit from the treaties that England signed with China.

The British colonial network made it easier for Chinese goods and ideas to land in the houses of the Québec elite.<sup>37</sup> Markets and wars had no borders and the globalizing effect of colonialism led to a clash of cultures and ideas. Ships carrying Chinese goods arrived in Québec at Grosse-Ile near Montmagny.<sup>38</sup> Shipments of tea and rice arriving in

---

<sup>37</sup> National Archives of Canada, (hereafter NAC), RG20, Industrie et commerce, série A-1, volume 1201 dossier : 6699, *Imports and exports from and to China, 1880 to 1890, 1899, 1900*.

<sup>38</sup> NAC, RG42, Direction de la Marine, série A-3, volume 15 dossier : 13, *Quarantine Officers, Grosse Ile, Vessels examined - China, 1835*.

Québec City were among the first imports to reach Canada in 1869.<sup>39</sup> Chinese ideas also penetrated Québec. In 1835, *L'Écho du Pays*, an educational periodical, was the first to publish quotations from Confucius. "Si le prince veut conduire ses peuples uniquement par des ordonnances, et les contenir par les châtimens, ils sauront éviter le châtiment; mais ils ne sauront pas rougir du vice."<sup>40</sup> The publication of Confucian ethics reflects some of the secularist lobby in Québec society during the 1830s. The newspaper *L'Écho du Pays* promoted a secular form of education based on the Voltairian model. Québec historian Marcel Trudel argues that liberals, republicans and those opposed to the monopoly of the clergy in social services read *les Encyclopédistes* such as Voltaire (1694-1778) and those strongly influenced by him such as LaMennais (1782-1854). Trudel argues that Orientalism began penetrating Québec.<sup>41</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century, trade became more and more of a source of conflict between China and the West. Trade with China was forced to go through diplomatic missions, was highly regulated, and the inadequacy of the *cohong* system (the exclusive right or duty of a small number of Chinese merchants to trade with

---

<sup>39</sup> Charles Woodworth, *Canada and the Orient* (Toronto: The MacMillan Limited, 1941), pp. 210-211. The first shipment of Chinese rice to Canada reached Vancouver in 1876.

<sup>40</sup> *L'Écho du Pays* (October 15<sup>th</sup> 1835), vol. 3 no. 33.

<sup>41</sup> Marcel Trudel, *L'influence de Voltaire au Canada* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1945), pp. 150-151. "*L'Écho* aime les apologues orientaux, nous montre la sagesse de Mahomet et cite des maximes de Confucius: deux personnages que Voltaire a constamment défendus, parce que leur morale païenne pouvait faciliter sa thèse du déisme. Pouvons-nous conclure que Voltaire a mis Mahomet et Confucius à la mode?" Trudel gives an answer (p. 84): "puisque'on goûte à ce point les oeuvres de Voltaire, on a dû inévitablement se rapprocher des goûts et des idées de Voltaire. Est-ce à lui qu'il faut attribuer cette habitude de définir longuement les qualités et les vices: amitié, flatterie, préjugés, opinions? La préférence pour certains sujets historiques: la Chine et ses empereurs qui sont toujours des sages, Pierre le Grand? Les contes à l'orientale dont Bagdad forme l'arrière-scène? Voltaire avait mis tout cela à la mode."

foreigners), was criticized by Western merchants, especially the British.<sup>42</sup> During the first half of the nineteenth century, China was confronted by the arrival of more and more merchants from the West. Disagreements between the British and the Chinese over trade degenerated into the Opium War (1839-1842) which had the result of turning Hong Kong into a British colony.<sup>43</sup> The Opium War forced China open but, ironically, the Treaty of Nanjing (1842) remained silent on the legal status of opium. In the following years disputes between England and China became more and more sharp. In 1856 the Chinese seized the British Arrow vessel in the port of Canton; that incident ultimately degenerated into the Second Opium War (1858-1860).<sup>44</sup> England responded by sending Canada's Governor General Lord Elgin (1811-1863) to clarify the matter and seek a treaty that would legalize opium trade.<sup>45</sup> Lord Elgin had been Governor of Canada (1846-1854) when angry mobs burned down the Canadian parliament in Montréal in 1849. His decision to compensate victims of the 1837-1838 Patriot Rebellion by the "Rebellion Losses Bill" did not please everybody, notably royalists in Montréal. Elgin left Québec in December 1854 for England where he rested for a few months before sailing for China. His mission to China (1857) with Baron Gros of France was to punish China for the

---

<sup>42</sup> The arrival of western merchants dramatically changed the social balance of China. See the classic John F. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: the Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953).

<sup>43</sup> The Opium War forced the opening of China. In the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), China ceded Hong Kong to England and was forced to open the ports of Canton, Shanghai, Fuzhou, Xiamen and Ningbo.

<sup>44</sup> This war is also known as the Arrow War.

<sup>45</sup> Elgin was first appointed Governor of Jamaica, Governor-General of Canada, envoy to China, and viceroy of India. He died in Dharamsala, northern India.

seizure of the Arrow vessel and to extend demands for greater concessions.<sup>46</sup> Baron Gros and Elgin wanted to impose the terms of the Treaty of Tianjin (1858) on China, forcing her to accept the presence of Western merchants and missionaries.<sup>47</sup> Opium trade became legal, ambassadors were granted residence in Beijing, more ports were opened, and France protected Catholic missionaries, wherever they went in the Chinese interior. France was the sole country to issue bilingual passports<sup>48</sup> allowing missionaries protection and the right to purchase land to erect churches, schools, and hospitals. In this way France reached China's interior by protecting the missionaries. The Treaty of Tianjin was an example of the disintegration of Chinese sovereignty that was humiliating China; the Chinese literati saw missionaries as cultural agents gathering information for further Western aggression taken by their respective countries. After months of hesitation and delays by the Chinese, Elgin had to return to Beijing to enforce the signature of the Treaty of Tianjin. In October 1860, Elgin and his troops entered Beijing and burnt down the Summer Palace Yuan Ming Yuan.

Elgin's methods in Beijing may have been inspired by his Montréal experience.

Elgin thought that the burning of the government buildings would have a lasting impact on

---

<sup>46</sup> P.J.B. Piolet, *Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe siècle* (Paris: [s.n.], 1903), p. 268. France wanted reparations for the murder of Father Chapdeleine in Guangxi while England, which delayed intervention because of the Indian mutiny (1857), sent Elgin for trading settlements.

<sup>47</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 20, February 1933. "Les missionnaires contribuent pour beaucoup à aider les Chinois à se débarrasser de leur triste passion pour l'opium. Ils leur doivent au moins cela, puisque ce sont certaines puissances étrangères qui ont forcé l'entrée de l'opium en Chine..."

<sup>48</sup> J. Fouillet, "Quelques réflexions sur la Chine" in *Le Messager Canadien du Sacré-Coeur*, vol. X, no. 1, January 1901, p. 24 "Chaque missionnaire catholique est muni en Chine d'un passe-port rédigé dans les deux langues, en français et en Chinois et signé par les deux pouvoirs." The Chinese passport still contains French today.



the minds of Beijing administrators.<sup>49</sup> Elgin had been stoned in Montréal when the Canadian parliament building was burning. This lasting experience was useful when it came to handling Beijing's summer palace. Elgin had the opportunity to witness a second conflagration of government buildings. He opted to burn down the Summer Palace rather than the Forbidden City in Beijing because he believed that burning down the Imperial palace would probably end Qing rule, something England preferred to avoid. The outcome of the Elgin's mission to China ensured French protection of Québec missionaries on Chinese soil; it also permitted them to ask for British protection.

French and British concessions in China were the places where Québec missionaries landed. This amazing web of missions across China offered Québec missionaries a wide selection of regions to choose from for their China experience. The international nature of the missionary movement permitted Québec missionaries to report to the British consulates but most, mainly Catholics remained connected with the French legations until World War Two.<sup>50</sup>

Individual Quebecers, particularly missionaries, traveling to the Orient in the second half of the nineteenth century, but their endeavours did not provoke further involvement in China by Québec missionary societies. Among adventurous priests were

---

<sup>49</sup> Elgin said "I had reason, moreover, to believe that it was an act which was calculated to produce a greater effect in China, and on the Emperor, than persons who look on from a distance may suppose. It was the Emperor's favorite residence, and its destruction could not fail to be a blow to his pride as well as to his feelings." Letter dated October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1860. Theodore Walrond, *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 366. The original was printed in London, 1872.

Xavier Gendreau (18??-1887), who directed the Franciscan colleges of Hong Kong and Rangoon before dying in Japan in 1887.<sup>51</sup> Adolphe Barré, François Gendreau, and Louis Miller were among the first to work in Hong Kong.<sup>52</sup> These Catholic priests went to China individually and were not sent by Québec Catholic missions in China. On the other hand, the Anglican and Presbyterian missionaries from Québec who planted the cross in China, joined the London-based China Inland Mission (CIM).<sup>53</sup> Also, the Women's Missionary League of Montreal, created in 1899, endorsed many missionary enterprises undertaken by the Protestant missionaries from Québec: the CIM, the South China

---

<sup>50</sup> Alvyn Austin, p. 146. "As late as the 1930s, certain Canadian missionaries were still registered with the French rather than the British Consulate."

<sup>51</sup> Richard Leclerc, *Des lys à l'ombre du mont Fuji. Histoire de la présence de l'Amérique française au Japon* (Sillery: Éditions du Bois-de-Coulonge, 1995), p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> Secrétariat du comité missionnaire, *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942* (Montréal, 1943), p. 153. Three Québec brothers founded, as early as 1852, a mission in Singapore. "Trois frères fondent en 1852 une mission à Singapour." (p. 154) "Adolphe Barré, de Montréal, devenu le F. Josué, une personnalité imposante. Sa carrière ressemble à celle des ouvriers des temps apostoliques, pour qui la terre ne semblait pas assez grande. Parti de Montréal, il devait traverser l'Atlantique et le Pacifique quatre ou cinq fois. On le vit à Hong Kong, à Pénang, à Colombo. Il en fut de même du F. Oswald. Le F. Cyprien, né Xavier Gendreau, de Montmagny, fut aussi un grand missionnaire. Il dirigea, pendant plusieurs années, les collèges de Hong Kong et de Rangoon, et alla mourir au Japon, en mai 1887... Il y eut, par exemple, le F. Léo, né à Saint-Grégoire de Nicolet, sous le nom de Louis Miller, qui dirigea aussi notre pensionnat de Hong-Kong. F. Alban, né François Gendreau, Québécois authentique, qui fut professeur et directeur d'école en France, à Liverpool, à Chambly, Hong-Kong."

<sup>53</sup> The CIM was created in 1881 by the London Missionary Society. The London-based Society accepted Canadian missionaries to work in China. Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries of Québec could, therefore, have access to work in China. As an example Dr. Leslie Percy landed in China in 1897. He was sponsored by the Erskine Church in Montréal.

mission,<sup>54</sup> and the North Henan Mission<sup>55</sup> that welcomed Lachute-born Dr. William McClure in 1888.<sup>56</sup>

France played an important role in institutionalizing relations between Québec and China's Catholic circles. A French visitor to Québec, Mgr Charles-Auguste De Forbin-Janson, had an impact on Québec involvement in China. Mgr De Forbin-Janson and Madame Pauline Jaricot founded the Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi in 1822 in Lyon, France.<sup>57</sup> De Forbin-Janson traveled to Québec in 1839-1841 where he befriended Mgr Bourget, Bishop of Montréal from 1840 to 1876. In 1847, the same year that the Sainte-Enfance was created in France,<sup>58</sup> Mgr Bourget added the Sainte-Enfance to the list of the indulgences in Québec.<sup>59</sup> The Sainte-Enfance and the Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi

---

<sup>54</sup> Austin, p. 126. "The South China mission - or the Macao mission, as it was first called - was inspired by a retired American missionary, Dr Joseph Thompson, who ran the mission for the Chinese in Montréal."

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 131. A Kaifeng mission was established by the Canadian Presbyterian Church in 1907. "Rev. Canon Scott, of St. Matthew's Church, Québec, sent a thrill through the whole Church by proposing that his congregation should dispense with a new organ and devote \$6,000 to the new mission in China."

<sup>56</sup> Munroe Scott, *McClure the China Years* (Markham: Penguin Books Canada Limited, 1979), p. 5. "Doctor William McClure of Lachute, Québec, graduate of McGill University, ex-superintendent of Montreal General Hospital, recently mission doctor in Chu Wang finished the year 1900 as naval surgeon in a British unit" heading to Beijing during the siege of legions by the Boxer rebels. William McClure's son, Robert McClure would become very active with the GMD and worked as the Field Director of the Red Cross in Central and North China (1937) and then West and South-West China (1938).

<sup>57</sup> Antoine Bernard, C.S.V., *Les Soeurs de Saint-Paul de Chartres dans le monde -au Canada* (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1957), p. 182. The Oeuvre pontificale de la propagation de la Foi was founded in Québec in 1837. See also *Ville-Marie Missionnaire*, p. 235.

<sup>58</sup> Langlais, p. 309. "Cette oeuvre internationale [Sainte-Enfance], fondée en 1847, a été confiée en 1917 aux Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception par l'archevêque de Montréal, Mgr Paul Bruchési. L'oeuvre a étendu progressivement à tout le Québec le réseau de son soutien spirituel et financier aux missions étrangères. La revue *Le Précurseur*, qui rejoignait l'ensemble de la francophonie nord-américaine, en était l'organe au Canada français."

<sup>59</sup> The Indulgences were a Roman Catholic rite aimed at giving pardon for past sins. *Ville-Marie missionnaire*, p. 605. "Dans une circulaire du 14 août 1847, annonçant aux fidèles la liste des indulgences à gagner dans le diocèse, Mgr Bourget signale <les indulgences de l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi et de

bonded France and Québec for missionary activity abroad. By 1851 Québec's Sainte-Enfance had become a financial contributor to French Catholic missions in China.<sup>60</sup>

Québec's interest in China became more institutionalized when Université Laval introduced Chinese civilization to its Museum of Ethnology. In 1877 Abbot Claude-Charles Dallet was financed by Université Laval to purchase some artifacts in China needed for the new Oriental section of the university's Museum of Ethnology. Rector Thomas-Étienne Hamel gave Dallet four hundred dollars to purchase some *chinoiseries* on behalf of the Museum.<sup>61</sup> Dallet was staying in Québec City during the early 1870's to escape war in Europe. He used his sojourn in Québec to rebuild the Sainte-Enfance.<sup>62</sup> When Dallet returned to France and then China, Université Laval commissioned him and Father Flavien to send two boxes of Chinese artifacts to Québec City for the opening of the

---

l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance qui lui est jointe et qui n'est qu'une branche de ce grand arbre qui couvre aujourd'hui le monde entier de son ombre.>."

<sup>60</sup> Antoine Bernard, p. 182. "Les premières ressources de la Sainte-Enfance aidèrent le premier établissement des Filles de Saint-Paul à Hong Kong, et parmi ces ressources se trouvaient sans doute plusieurs sous canadiens."

<sup>61</sup> For the full details of the story of the Chinese museum in Québec, consult the archives of the Musée de l'Amérique française, dossier CA 89-176. According to a well documented but anonymous article in the archives (CA 89-176), the bed was said to have belonged originally to the Empress Dowager. The bed would have been taken during the Franco-British expedition in Beijing under Lord Elgin's command. "Une première hypothèse, la plus acceptable, pour le moment, est que ce lit appartenait à l'impératrice douairière T'shui-Hi qui a régné en Chine de 1862 à 1908." The owner of the bed died on the boat on its way to Québec City. Québec City customs sold the bed to Louis-Napoléon Larochelle, member of parliament in the Dorchester riding from 1871-1878 and 1886 to 1888. The bed went through different hands before Jesuit missionary Lavoie purchased the bed for his new Musée Chinois. He finally sold it to Louis Bouchard in 1944 for the Jesuit house on Sherbrooke Street, Montréal. It was last exhibited at the Musée de la Civilisation in 1997.

<sup>62</sup> Conseil National de l'Union Missionnaire du Clergé, *Actes du Premier Congrès National de l'Union Missionnaire du Clergé au Canada*, Montréal, 1943, p. 148.

Museum in 1879. The Museum was first located on Chemin Ste-Foy then Grande-Allée in Québec City.<sup>63</sup>

Québec interest in evangelization in China grew to such a point that some influential members of the Québec clergy warned of the possible draining of qualified priests from Québec. In 1889 Montreal Archbishop Fabre advised Cardinal Simeoni, prefect of the Congrégation de la Propagande of Rome, that he did not intend to participate in the missionary effort. Fabre believed that sending missionaries abroad would adversely affect the mobilization of educated personnel for the Church in Québec.<sup>64</sup> Mgr Bruchési, the next Archbishop of Montréal, also had reservations about undertaking missionary work in China. In 1899 Mgr Bruchési received a letter from Father Bertrand Cothonay of Indochina who pledged to increase Québec's missionary work in China.<sup>65</sup> Cothonay wrote to Mgr Bruchési and the Director of the newspaper *La Vérité* to argue that priests were available in Québec and that some should be sent to China. He was certain that if the Québec public knew the situation of the missions in China, there would be a wave of volunteers for China. Cothonay was right; the very few Québec missionaries who

---

<sup>63</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 32, November 1934. The journal stated that the museum was created for "le bien de la Mission et pour le public canadien qui a beaucoup à apprendre sur la civilisation chinoise." The museum moved many times and changed name until it closed in 1975. Artifacts were stored at its last location, the Jesuit House, at the corner of Stanley and Sherbrooke Street in downtown Montreal until the Jesuits donated the collection to the Musée de la Civilisation in Québec City in 1990. The Chinese collection was exhibited until 1997, which makes it a full hundred years of exhibition of Chinese artifacts in Québec.

<sup>64</sup> *Braise et Encens* (Côtes-des-Neiges: Les Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, 1960), p. 56.

<sup>65</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. II, no. 11, Septembre-October 1945, p. 370.

managed to work in China during the nineteenth century initiated Québec's greatest missionary effort of all time.<sup>66</sup>

The creation of Canada had a double impact on Québec/China relations. First, it provided a physical link to the Pacific, making it easier for travelers from Eastern Canada to travel to East Asia by embarking from Vancouver on ships heading towards the South China Sea. British Columbia was lured into the Canadian Confederation with the promise that it would be linked by rail with the rest of Canada. Second, the fact that England considerably influenced Canada's foreign policy shaped Canada's relations with China and in the Pacific as a whole.<sup>67</sup> Canadians, as well as Quebecers, could rely on the same treaty status as British nationals. As a result, whatever treaty privileges the British secured in China significantly impacted on Canada's Pacific relations.

The presence of Chinese in Québec in the late nineteenth century also encouraged greater Québec interest in China. Canadian reaction to the arrival of Chinese in Canada was far from a rolling out of the red carpet. Adolphe Chapleau (1840-1898), former Premier of Québec (1879-1882) and Canadian Secretary of State (1882-1889) headed the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration in 1885, the year that the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. Hoping to find a solution to the growing racial tensions between

---

<sup>66</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. II, no. 11, Septembre-October 1945, p. 371. Letter written in Fuzhou, November first, 1899. "Je suis sûr que si la situation en Chine était publiée et bien connue, il se trouverait de jeunes prêtres à l'âme ardente et généreuse qui préféreraient se dévouer en Chine que d'être 10 ou 15 ans vicaires dans des paroisses où il se trouvera toujours assez de prêtres pour faire le travail qu'ils laisseraient."

the Chinese and the rest of the population in Canada, particularly in British Columbia, Chapleau had to deal with popular pressure demanding an end to Asian immigration in British Columbia and Prime Minister John A. MacDonald's guidelines which were aimed at limiting Chinese immigration to Canada.<sup>68</sup> The outcome was a head tax on the Chinese in 1885, the only group to face such a hurdle to immigrate to Canada. Chinese applicants were finally barred from entering Canada altogether in 1923. Peter Ward's study on the immigration of Asians to British Columbia gives credit to Chapleau, saying that he "emphasized the advantages of Chinese labour" and saw it as a "most efficient aid in the development of a country, and a great means to wealth."<sup>69</sup> Chapleau found support for his claims from Lord Van Horne, Chief Executive of Montréal's Canadian Pacific. Van Horne lobbied the federal government not to follow the American example and to ensure that no exclusionist measures would be taken against the Chinese:

In view of the present attitude of the United States towards China as evidenced by the recent passing by the House of Representatives of a Chinese Bill which provides for the absolute exclusion from the United States of all Chinese, -and the certain retaliation that will follow--whether Canada should not place herself squarely upon record as being friendly to China and distinctly opposed to further restrictions upon natives of that Country seeking to come to Canada; and whether means should not be taken to let it be officially known in China that Canada

---

<sup>67</sup> See Charles J. Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations* (Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1941), and Arthur R. M. Lower, *Canada and the Far East* (Institute of Pacific Relations: University of Toronto Press, 1940).

<sup>68</sup> Kenneth Munro, "The Chinese Immigration Act 1885: Adolphe Chapleau and the French Canadian Attitude" in *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada*, vol. XIX, no. 3, 1987, p. 98. "The question caused no difficulty as long as it was directed against groups other than the British and the French. Consequently...the Chinese issue did not threaten to split apart the two founding communities in Canada." Munro argues that English and French Canadians accepted the idea of a limited Chinese immigration to Canada.

<sup>69</sup> Peter W. Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), p. 39.

disapproves of any measures that could be construed as unfriendly or in any sense restrictive beyond what may be necessary to ensure a complete and accurate registration of--to serve as a basis for the protection of Chinese subjects domiciled in Canada. Without some such action there may be great danger to Canadian interests in case of the adoption of retaliatory measures in China.<sup>70</sup>

The prospect of trade with East Asia activated Montréal merchants to press for greater access to Asia. The Canadian Pacific acted to secure a prominent position in the international network of transportation; Asia was a lucrative market that seduced many. Historian R.T. Taylor underlined the frenzy aroused in Montréal about the prospect of Asian trade.

In 1886 before the annual meeting of the Bank of Montréal, Donald Smith was ecstatic about the possibilities of the Oriental trade for the city, confident that it would restore Montréal to the position of a major commercial metropolis not only for British North America but for the United States as well. And in 1890 before that same not disinterested body he spoke of the CPR as "fulfilling the dreams of those who, centuries ago, came here hoping to find a route to China through Canada."<sup>71</sup>

To enhance trade and contacts between Canada and the Orient, the Canadian Pacific chartered three ships in 1886: the Abyssinia, the Parthia and the Batavia, for regular service between Vancouver and the Orient. In 1889 the Canadian Pacific ordered the construction of three ships that were subsequently built at the Naval Construction and

---

<sup>70</sup> NAC, RG vol 1195, dossiers: 6516, 3726, 2618, 321. Van Horne submitted the report of Canadian exports to China in 1880: \$37 546, 1884: \$60 979, 1890: \$61 751, 1891: \$78 791. Canadian imports from China and Japan: 1880: \$893 911, 1884: \$1 909 562, 1890: \$2 100 065, 1891: \$2 123 311.

<sup>71</sup> R.T. Taylor, *Canada in the European Age 1453-1919* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1987), p. 476.



Armaments Company of Barrow in Montréal.<sup>72</sup> The Empress of India, the Empress of China, and the Empress of Japan were intended to replace the old and obsolete vessels that had carried Chinese migrants across the Pacific. The new ships permitted greater tonnage and were used for passengers and freight. The Empress of India was the first to be completed; the Empress of China and the Empress of Japan were added in time to permit a full sailing schedule by the mid-summer of 1891.

Travelers from Eastern Canada could depart from Montréal by train to Vancouver and then embark on ships leaving for the Orient and return from Europe. The Canadian Pacific became the first travel company in the world to offer around-the-world service. One of those famous travelers was former mayor of Montréal Honoré Beaugrand (1848-1906), author of the *Chasse-Galerie*.<sup>73</sup> He reported his travels to China in December 1892 in the newspaper *La Patrie*.<sup>74</sup> In his reports, Beaugrand noted that everywhere he went in Asia, he met Quebecers.

The possibility of an increase in Québec and Canadian exports to China suggested the need for an official Canadian commercial representative in China. In 1895 discussions

---

<sup>72</sup> Woodsworth, p. 215. The company was renamed Vickers Shipyard in 1911.

<sup>73</sup> Leclerc, p. 12. "En 1892, un groupe de touristes canadiens-français deviennent les premiers laïcs du Québec à fouler le sol nippon. Honoré Beaugrand (1848-1906), romancier, journaliste et ancien maire de Montréal, son épouse, sa fille adoptive Flora Frappier et son mari Achille Bergevin (1870-1933), futur membre du Parlement du Québec, ainsi que Olivier et Virginie Faucher visitent le Japon lors d'un périple autour du monde."

<sup>74</sup> *La Patrie*, vol. 14 . no. 258, April 29<sup>th</sup> 1892. Beaugrand was invited by M. Shaughnessy, Vice-president of the Canadian Pacific office in Hong Kong. He visited Shanghai, Canton, and Hong Kong. His trip around the world led him to Singapore, Colombo, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, Cairo, Rome, and Paris. Shaughnessy's residence in Montréal is today the home of the Canadian Center for Architecture.

were held by the Canadian federal government to establish commercial representatives in Japan and China.<sup>75</sup> The first step came when a Canadian Commercial Agent was dispatched to Tokyo in 1897; the China appointment came in 1906 in Shanghai.<sup>76</sup> In 1896 the Canadian Pacific began operating ocean-cruisers that left Vancouver for Hong Kong, thus adding to the pre-existing Vancouver-Tokyo and Vancouver-Shanghai services.<sup>77</sup> A postal service between Québec City and Hong Kong was planned.<sup>78</sup> It became a reality in 1901.<sup>79</sup>

The first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) directly influenced Québec's relations with China. The war created controversy in Ottawa and generated Church-related activities in Québec. In the summer of 1894, the Japanese consul in Vancouver demanded that there be a cessation of Canadian arms and munitions shipments to British troops stationed in China.<sup>80</sup> The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Sir John Thompson, advised Vancouver customs that, according to the Governor General of Canada, Lord Ripon (1827-

---

<sup>75</sup> NAC, RG20, Industrie et commerce, série A-1, volume 1118 dossier: 2618, *Commercial Agents in Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, China and Japan*, 1895.

<sup>76</sup> Lower, p. 6. "Mr. McLean was transferred from Yokohama and in 1909 became the first Trade Commissioner in China."

<sup>77</sup> NAC, RG20, Industrie et commerce, série A-1, volume 1208 dossier: 6904, *Renewal of contract with Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway for steam ship service to China and Japan Line between Vancouver and Seattle*, 1900.

<sup>78</sup> NAC, RG3, Postes, série D-3, volume 135, bobine T-2403 dossier: 1895-418, parties: QUE *Correspondence on the matter of the handling of the China mails at the post office at Québec*, 1901. The postal route assured the delivery of parcels and letters via Europe. Ships docked at Quebec City and the merchandise could be sent by rail all over Canada.

<sup>79</sup> NAC, RG 46, Commission canadienne des transports, série E-III-1, volume 1303 entente: 39, *Canada - China - Japan (incl. 1901 mail contract Québec - Hong Kong)*, 1901.

<sup>80</sup> NAC, RG20, Industrie et commerce, série A-1, volume 1099 dossier: 1660, *Rifles and munitions of war destined for China to be shipped by Empress India*, 1894.

1909), Canadian authorities could not stop army and munition shipments on board the Empress of India. In addition, religious fundraising activities were held in Québec to gather help for the missions during the war. The Ursulines held financial campaigns for the French missions of the Sainte-Enfance in China.<sup>81</sup> Prayers were recited in December 1895 for the outcome of the war. Catholic Quebecers were confronted with the decline of China and the need for its rejuvenation:

On veut surtout empêcher le vainqueur (Japon) de trop profiter de son triomphe et de devenir redoutable; mais les hommes s'inquiètent assez peu des intérêts supérieurs de ces deux grands peuples...De nos jours, rejetant brusquement leur féodalité surannée, ils se sont lancés en aveugles dans le tourbillon moderne...Quant au Japon, enivré de sa demi-science d'enfant précoce et encore plus de ses récents triomphes, il risque de tomber dans le rationalisme.<sup>82</sup>

China's defeat and the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) initiated a "scramble for concessions" in China.<sup>83</sup> Korea, formerly a close tributary state of China, came under the Japanese sphere of influence, while Taiwan was ceded to Japanese rule (1895-1945). France demanded concessions in Yunnan and Shanghai; the British extended Kowloon to include the New Territories and also made moves in Tibet; the

---

<sup>81</sup> *La Nacelle de Sainte-Ursule* (Montréal: Imprimerie P. R. Dupont, janvier 1897), p. 16. "Table de rafraîchissements tenue (13/11/1896) au Pensionnat au profit des petits Chinois. -jolie recette-"

<sup>82</sup> *Le Messager Canadien du Sacré-Coeur*, Montréal: 1895, vol. IV, no. 12, pp. 370-371.

<sup>83</sup> Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun, Volume 2: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, 1865-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), p. 76. "Understandably, all missionaries welcomed Japanese occupation [1895] of the island [Taiwan] because it drastically reduced the power of the literati...In the early 1870s the English Presbyterians in Taiwan were reinforced by the Canadian Presbyterians. In 1872, George Leslie Mackay of the Canadian Presbyterian church took up permanent residence in Tamsui." The mission in Taiwan would welcome some missionaries from Québec later on. Mackay practiced dentistry from 1872 to 1901.

Germans took control of Shandong; and the Russians extended their influence in Mongolia, Xinjiang and Manchuria (the latter, a source of conflict between Russia and Japan).<sup>84</sup> The first Sino-Japanese War was a blow to the Confucian order; not only was China surpassed by its cultural *protégé* (Japan), but it also became clear that the dynasty could no longer protect the territorial integrity of the country.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Chinese reformers began to turn to the West, including Québec, to gain access to Western military power and Western science. The Chinese literati were devastated after the war; no one questioned the need for China to rejuvenate itself. Some reformers such as Liang Qichao (1873-1945) proposed the Canadian/Japanese model of a constitutional monarchy. Others, such as Sun Yat-sen (1866-1935), preferred a more radical break with the past, with the abolition of the dynasty and the establishment of a presidential republic. Chinese reformers and revolutionaries linked Western superiority to its educational techniques and, perhaps, its moral values. Liberal democracy became a possible alternative to the dynastic order. Both Sun Yat-sen and Liang Qichao had the opportunity to travel abroad and both visited Québec to examine the functioning of Québec and Canada. Sun preferred a republican system and did not elaborate on the Canadian system. Liang commented on Québec in his book *Hsin ta lu yun chi chieh lu* published in Shanghai in 1937.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Japan and Russia would fight over Manchuria, which would ultimately lead to war. Japan defeated Russia in the 1905 War, becoming the first Asian nation to defeat a European country. This aroused Asian nationalism.

<sup>85</sup> See footnote 19.

Liang Qichao, a prolific Chinese scholar, believed that constitutional monarchies like Canada might suit China's needs. Liang and Kang Youwei (1858-1927), his mentor and one of the leading Confucian officials of the day, had briefly exerted great influence under Emperor Guangxu (1871-1908). In 1898 they had attempted numerous reforms at a speed that the conservative Confucian bureaucracy could not handle. The very nature of some reforms challenged the power of the Confucian bureaucracy. Power sharing with elected members of the non-Confucian background was a daring reform. Guangxu's 100 day government planted the seeds of modernization by creating Beijing University and by suggesting revolutionary policies, such as the abolition of the Confucian examination system. These reforms were halted by conservative elements of the Chinese government when Empress Dowager Cixi (1825-1907) returned to Beijing and silenced her nephew Emperor Guangxu while Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei fled into exile.

Kang Youwei landed in Canada in 1898 and set up the *Bao Huang Hui* (Emperor Protection Society) in Vancouver.<sup>86</sup> The Canadian government, aware of his travel plans, elaborated a scheme for the protection of the well known reformer.<sup>87</sup> The Northwest

---

<sup>86</sup> Chang Hao, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 134. Chang Hao argues that the failed coup during the Boxer uprising disillusioned followers, and from that moment, sympathizers began leaving ship. David S. Levy, *Two-Gun Cohen a Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 61. "Reformers like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao fled the country. Their movement for change, though, did not stop. Kang, Liang, and the more radical Sun Yat-sen started to court and raise funds in North America. In 1899, Kang went to Canada and founded the reform political party, Baohuanghui (Society to Protect the Emperor), eventually forming more than one hundred branches throughout North America. The reform party could not usher in change, though, and when the Empress Dowager had the emperor killed in 1908 the purpose of the party perished with him."

<sup>87</sup> NAC, RG18, Gendarmes Royale du Canada, série A-1, volume 170 dossier: 339-99, *Chinese reformer - Protection for while in Canada - Kang-Tu-Wei*, 1899.

Mounted Police (which ultimately became the Royal North West Mounted Police merged with the Dominion Police to become the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1919) observed his movements and protected him while he was visiting Canada. Kang stayed in Montréal for a week in May 1899. He met with the small emerging Chinese community in Montréal<sup>88</sup> and also went to Ottawa where he was entertained by Lord Minto (1868-1925), Governor General of Canada, and Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919). Meanwhile, the House of Commons in Ottawa debated whether Canada should endorse England's support for the Qing dynasty: only fourteen votes gave a majority in favor of the motion; Canada continued to support England and the Qing dynasty.<sup>89</sup> At about the same time, Kang's loyal lieutenant Liang Qichao went to Japan to meet with Sun Yat-sen and tried to convince him to unite with Kang who refused to abandon the principle of constitutional monarchy.

Liang and Kang's plans for constitutional monarchy in China conflicted with those of Montréal's next notable Chinese visitor, Sun Yat-sen. Sun's republican policy promoted the abolition of China's dynastic system. Clearly, this was a revolution. Sun's attempts to overthrow the dynasty were numerous. His first notable coup failed in 1895; thereafter he was declared an outlaw. Exiled in England, he was mysteriously kidnapped outside the Chinese embassy in London in 1897; this made him a celebrity. After his release, Sun sailed from England and disembarked in Montréal where he stayed four days and set up a

---

<sup>88</sup> According to the Canadian Census of 1891 there were 34 Chinese men and 2 women in Québec. In 1901 the Canadian census numbered 1033 men and only 4 women.

<sup>89</sup> Harry Con, Ronald J. Con, Graham Johnson, William E. Wilmott Edgar Wickberg ed, *From China to Canada. A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto; McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), p. 75.

branch of the Xin Zhong Hui (Revive China Society).<sup>90</sup> Working from abroad, Sun attempted ten more coups and later became known as the father of the Chinese Republic.

Canada was supportive of the British during the Boxer Rebellion (1900). The Boxer Rebellion was the last attempt to save traditional China from foreign domination. Canada logistically supported<sup>91</sup> another Franco-British expedition aimed at punishing the Qing dynasty for not quelling the Boxer movement. Canada provided foodstuff for the British troops sent into the Forbidden City at the end 1900. The conservative ideology behind the Boxer movement was at first anti-Qing and anti-foreigner, but the Beijing government managed to turn the movement into an exclusively anti-foreign movement. During the Boxers period, both Liang Qichao and Sun Yat-sen attempted to change or overthrow the dynasty, but both failed. Sun was active in Canton while Liang organized a plot to restore the Guangxu Emperor at the head of a constitutional monarchy.<sup>92</sup> Sun's third attempt to overthrow the dynasty was in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion. The principal martyrs of the Boxer Rebellion were missionaries and Chinese Christians.<sup>93</sup> The former were accused of being agents of colonialism and the latter were stigmatized because they had sold their souls for a bowl of rice.

---

<sup>90</sup> Chang Hao, p. 135. The Tungmenghui would become the GMD in 1912.

<sup>91</sup> NAC, RG25, Affaires extérieures, série B-1-a , volume 20 , Department of Agriculture (Canada) - *Supplies for the China Expedition - Hay*. 1900/08/21.

<sup>92</sup> Philip Huang, *Liang Ch'ï-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), p. 94.

<sup>93</sup> See Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Rebellion* (Berkeley: Berkeley University Press, 1987).

Québec periodicals and newspapers depicted the Boxer Rebellion as a last attempt to save traditional China.<sup>94</sup> The Boxers had been fostered by what Paul Cohen calls "Christian hostility."<sup>95</sup> Christian missionaries in China supposedly sought refuge in a safe environment in case of problems. On the other hand, missionaries could also join the Franco-British expedition in Beijing. Québec-born missionary Doctor William McClure left his North Henan mission to join the British naval units heading to relieve the siege of the capital's foreign legations which was being staged by the Boxers.<sup>96</sup> No Québec missionaries fell victim to the Boxers. However, Dr. Leslie Percy of Montréal was attacked during the rebellion.<sup>97</sup> Québec Presbyterian missionaries present in Henan during the Boxer Uprising escaped by departing from Chengte to Hankow (Wuhan), a main port on the Yangtse in Hubei.<sup>98</sup> Martyrs were European but that did not deter Québec publishing houses from publishing studies on the Boxer Rebellion and its martyrs. Three books were printed in Québec: the Soeurs Franciscaines published two titles commemorating the massacre of Franciscans in China. *Life of Mother Marie-Hermine of Jesus massacred in Shan-si (China), July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1900*<sup>99</sup> and *Notice sur la Très Révérende*

---

<sup>94</sup> "Les Chinois" in *Revue Canadienne*, August 1900.

<sup>95</sup> See Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-foreignism 1860-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).

<sup>96</sup> Scott, p. 5.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Conventry Forsyth, *The China Martyrs of 1900* (London: the Religious Tract Society, 1904), pp. 202-249.

<sup>99</sup> Soeurs Missionnaires Franciscaines, *Life of Mother Marie-Hermine of Jesus massacred in Shan-si (China), July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1900* (Québec City: Franciscan Missionary Printing Press, 1910).



*mère Marie de la Passion, fondatrice de l'Institut des Franciscaines missionnaires de Marie.*<sup>100</sup>

After the failure of the Boxers, more and more of the Chinese elite believed that solutions to China's problem might be found outside China, perhaps in Canada and Québec. The Chinese search for wealth and power became more intense after the Boxers because fewer and fewer Chinese intellectuals thereafter had confidence in tradition and in Confucianism. This made the West more attractive to China and instead of resisting it, the Chinese began studying the West. The first Catholic university in China "Aurore" opened in Shanghai in 1903<sup>101</sup> and many Québec missionaries would either work at or teach at the university.<sup>102</sup> It took only a few years before Chinese abandoned the traditional education system that had shaped Chinese civilization. In 1905 the decision to abandon the Confucian examinations opened the way for the establishment of foreign schools, including those from Québec.

Québec's relations with imperial China prior to the twentieth century reflected the changes occurring in imperial China. Initially, the presence of Jesuits in Beijing facilitated the establishment of trade between Québec and China in the middle of the eighteenth

---

<sup>100</sup> Soeurs Missionnaires Franciscaines, *Notice sur la Très Révérende mère Marie de la Passion, fondatrice de l'Institut des Franciscaines missionnaires de Marie* (Québec City: Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie, 1905).

<sup>101</sup> René Aigrain, *Les Universités Catholiques* (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1935), p. 70.

<sup>102</sup> For a detailed portrait of the University, consult Xu Bai-Kang, "L'Université l'Aurore et ses contributions dans l'enseignement du français en Chine" in André A. Obadia ed. *Premier colloque international sur l'enseignement du français en Chine: communications choisies* (Burnaby: Les Presses de l'Université Simon Fraser, 1990).

century. Ultimately, trade became a source of conflict between the West and China. Québec took advantage of the forced opening of China both by sending missionaries and by establishing trade and diplomatic relations. The Montreal bourgeoisie saw this opening as an act of providence, some believing that Montréal would become significant in world trade, especially between Europe and Asia.

Even though initial contacts between Québec and China were sporadic, they nevertheless laid the groundwork for the institutionalization of Québec's involvement in China. Missionary presence in China assured the introduction of Orientalism to Québec. Université Laval became the first public institution in Québec to disseminate Orientalism to the masses; the opening of a Chinese museum in 1879 had an impact that is hard to evaluate, but certainly helped to stimulate Québec's interest in China. The establishment of missionary congregations in Québec prepared volunteers for Asia who upon their return, described the rapid social transformation of China. At the turn of the twentieth century, Québec's involvement in China became more complete, as missionaries began preparing individual Quebecers who left for posts in China. The great voyage to China was now available for Québec's missionaries and businessmen.

## Chapter II

### 1902-1912: Québec/China Relations During the Last Qing Decade

After 1902 Québec involvement in China became much more diversified and sustained. Québec missionaries joined Québec merchants sailing to imperial China. This new era witnessed the establishment of a Québec missionary network which provided a first glimpse of China for Québec Catholic missionaries. Québec/China relations became more inclusive during the last imperial decade, as more Quebecers of different backgrounds traveled to China. Québec's missionary movement was Pan-Christian, enabling both Catholics and Protestants to visit China. Government officials from China and Québec exchanged visits, providing both sides with a clearer picture of what the other was like in terms of geopolitics and culture. Quebecers' initial perception of imperial China left a lasting image of Chinese conservatism attached to China's traditions.

This chapter argues that Québec's involvement in China became institutionalized in 1902. From that time, Québec's relations with China were continuous until the mid-1950s. Québec's involvement in China included politics, trade, diplomacy, missionary work, and literature. The chapter first explains how the Chinese attempted to modernize their country. Chinese reformer Liang Qichao proposed the Québec/Canada political model for China. The modernization of China also meant that trade with the West

intergrated China into the world economy. This chapter suggests that Montréal businessmen supported a rapprochement with China, while at the same time the Canadian government tried to restrict immigration of Chinese to Canada. Canadian laws and diplomacy operated to construct a one-way direction to contacts with China. Canadian exports were encouraged while imports from Asia were discouraged. This chapter argues that this situation favored the sending of missionaries from Québec to China; their comments reflect their hope that China was moving toward westernization.

Québec missionary comments on the last decade of imperial China reflected the ideas of the time. The West, technologically superior to the Orient at the time, spelled out the recipe for wealth and power: liberalism, puritanism and Christianity. Comments by Québec priests during the last Qing decade were both patronizing and ingenuous; some comments suggested that China lacked a divine culture to rejuvenate itself and that Qing attempts were doomed to failure. Québec missionaries saw the last decade of Qing rule as chaotic and infested with bandits who did not dare to attack missions as they had done in the pre-Boxer days.<sup>103</sup> Rosario Renaud reported that Québec missionaries were combating superstition and paganism.<sup>104</sup> Lionel Groulx (1878-1967) acknowledged that missionaries in China were confronted by an old civilization. Its people were intelligent, clever and

---

<sup>103</sup> Rosario Renaud, *Süchow, diocèse de Chine, 1882-1931* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1955), p. 349. "Plus de brigands? Entendons-nous. Jamais on n'en a tant vu dans le Süchow que durant les années 1901-1911...L'armée, qui compte tant de chenapans, enrôlés pour échapper à la justice, l'armée est pervertie par les sociétés secrètes...Des brigands, il y en a donc. Mais, par un curieux revirement, ils n'assaillent plus les missionnaires. Archarnés avant 1900; après, indifférents, et même, en quelques occasions, protecteurs."

<sup>104</sup> Rosario Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine), Champ apostolique des Jésuites canadiens de 1918-1954* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1982), p. 243. "les missionnaires ont donc livré un autre combat contre la superstition et les tristes côtés de la nature païenne."

resourceful, yet they were not Christians.<sup>105</sup> The fact that these comments reflect the "white man's burden" is no surprise. It shows the general trend of late Victorian ideals which demanded that "civilized people" should resemble the European ideal of society.

The post-Boxer period provided a setting for various attempts to modernize China's government while prolonging the dynastic system. Chinese students returned from abroad, the military and political activists pressured the Qing dynasty to adapt to the new world order and to restore Chinese national pride. To do so, Chinese intellectuals stopped studying the Chinese classics and began looking abroad for solutions to China's problems. This constituted a decisive break from the Chinese past because from then on, the Chinese literati began to reject not only the Qing dynasty, but their Chinese past. Constitutional monarchy was a real option for some. In her exile in Xian after the Boxer Rebellion, the Empress Dowager apparently realized that foreign nations were stronger than she had believed and that although China had an ancient civilization, the Qing dynasty had to borrow from the West the institutions and the ideas that were at the foundation of its power. She returned to Beijing with a "reformist" attitude and ushered in many reforms, as a last attempt to save the dynasty. Liang Qichao's 1898 proposal to abolish the Confucian examination system was finally adopted in 1905. By doing so, the Qing unwillingly undermined their own survival and deprived potential civil servants of the opportunity to acquire a Confucian education. It transformed the mindset of Chinese

---

<sup>105</sup> Lionel Groulx, *Le Canada français missionnaire* (Montréal: Fides, 1962), p. 88-89. "les missionnaires ne présentaient pas la foi à un peuple sauvage, dépourvu d'esprit critique, mais à un vieux civilisé. La civilisation chinoise remonte, en effet, à plus de 2,000 ans. Des découvertes lui appartiennent qui ont devancé celles de l'Occident. Les missionnaires avaient affaire à un peuple intelligent, habile aux arts mécaniques, dont l'agriculture fut un temps l'une des plus progressives du monde."

students, China's future ruling class. Chinese students and the Chinese intellectual elite began to absorb the new political philosophies popular in the West: anarchism, socialism, liberalism, and militarism filled the political minds of Chinese youth. The opening of modern schools demonstrated that China was moving towards new values, which were closer to these of the West.

Constitutional monarchist Liang Qichao traveled the world to find the ideal political system for China, and, according to him, Canada was a constitutional example that demanded further investigation.<sup>106</sup> On February 20, 1903 Liang sailed from Yokohama Japan, his home in exile, and disembarked at Vancouver on March 4<sup>th</sup>. Pausing only briefly in Western Canada, he rushed across the continent to Ottawa, where the leader of the Conservative Party and future Prime Minister of Canada Robert Borden (1911-1920) received him.<sup>107</sup> After his arrival in Ottawa, Liang described the organization of the Canadian parliamentary system and finally reached Montréal on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1903. "The French-speaking population of Montréal interested him hugely, and he reported that, without having visited France, he had now seen a section of French society."<sup>108</sup> Liang believed that the strength of Montréal was its French culture and English business.<sup>109</sup> He

---

<sup>106</sup> Chang Hao, p. 201. "What interested Liang mainly in Western constitutionalism was the idea that a government should be set up and operate according to a promulgated constitution in which a popularly elected legislature played the leading role. His belief that constitutional government was a system which could ensure the political participation of the majority of the people."

<sup>107</sup> Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang C'hi-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 69.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. Liang Qichao, p. 38.2-2b and 38.II

<sup>109</sup> Liang Qichao, p. 14. "Chu shi ri. Di man di ke. Man di ke zhe jia na da zui da zhi dou hui ye. Ren kou yue si shi yu wan. Gong shang ye da sheng. Shi xi bu ge shi. Guo zhi yuan yi. Qi zhong fa guo zhi yi

asserted that Montréal was the most prosperous city he had seen in North America.<sup>110</sup> His trips around the world further influenced his eclectic view of the ideal government for China.

Liang Qichao's fascination with Québec is not accidental. Three reasons can explain Liang's attraction to Québec and Canada. First, his mentor, Kang Youwei had been received by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and had had the opportunity to visit Canada for several months in 1899. Second, Liang was able to visit the major Chinese urban communities in Canada to seek financial and structural support for his reform movement. Finally, Canada inspired Liang as a constitutional framework suitable for China under Manchu rule. Wilfrid Laurier's government cannot be compared with the Manchu ruling the Han Chinese, but it provided a model of constitutional monarchy where a *minzu* (nationality) could obtain office. Liang Qichao stated that China needed to adopt a more inclusive Chinese state incorporating the Mongol, Tibetan, Manchu and Mahommedan nationalities surrounding a Chinese core.<sup>111</sup> Québec's social-cultural strength in Canada impressed Liang and he believed that the same political solution could fit China's needs.

---

ming qiang ban. Shì nei chu zui wang zhi yi yu wai. Dou you yi ying you bu neng tong zhe. Wu wei chang zhi fa guo. Guang ci yi ke yi jian fa ren she hui zhi yi ban ye."

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Levenson, p. 161. "He [Liang] writes somewhere that a Chinese nationalism which expresses itself in an anti-Manchu form most logically be extended to anti-Mongol, anti-Miao, anti-Mohammedan, anti-Tibetan forms. Can this be the way to build a nation?" Liang sees a common language and script for China but does agree that each components of China should keep its originality.

Liang stressed the need to adopt reforms as Canada had done in 1867 and as Japan had done in the Meiji Restoration of 1868.<sup>112</sup>

Increasing Canadian trade with Japan and Asia encouraged greater Canadian political autonomy. Canada's presence in China grew more significant in terms of diplomacy, immigration, and trade. The Canadian government showed interest in the "opening" of China.<sup>113</sup> Laurier's government actively sought diplomatic autonomy while doing business with the Far East and setting up a network of consulates to take advantage of trading opportunities with Asia.<sup>114</sup> In 1903 Canada participated in Osaka's international

---

<sup>112</sup> Both Canada's constitution and the Japanese Meiji constitution (1868) inspired numerous Asians. The first Indian Congress, held in 1885, took the Dominion of Canada as an example of liberation from colonial rule. The Congress was organized by Octavian Hume (1809-1912), a retired India Civil Service officer, who submitted for study Lord Durham's Report on Canada (1840) which emphasized the need for responsible government and the assimilation of French-Canadians. Hume related to the 1837-38 Patriots movement in Québec and Canada which demanded a greater role in the management of colonial affairs. See John Hill ed., *The Congress and Indian nationalism: historical perspectives* (London: Curzon Press, 1991).

<sup>113</sup> The Action Française published a strange book in 1923 entitled *Mon voyage autour du monde*. The author, Émile Miller, was Professor of geography at Université de Montréal. The book indicates that the Québec government sent a study mission of four men to China and around the world in 1903-1904. A certain M. Miller supposedly headed the mission and was accompanied by his son Émile, the supposed author of the book. The three fictional individuals who supposedly joined the mission that never took place were engineer Louis Séverin, naturalist Jean Bernard, and painter-artist Octave Lebrun. This team is said to have arrived in Shanghai by ship on December 1903 and stayed in China until January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1904. Émile Miller taught geography at the Action Française in the Monument National on St-Lawrence Boulevard (Rapport du Secrétaire et Régistrare de la Province de Québec, 1912-13, 27e rapport: Québec City; E.-E. Cinq-Mars, 1913, p. 159.) before becoming Professor of geography at Université de Montréal. After his accidental death in 1922, the book was published. Curiously, the copyright of the book belongs to his wife, Mrs Émile Miller. It could be argued that she is the author of the book or her husband made her believe that he traveled around the world. Richard Leclerc, from the Ministère des Relations Internationales du Québec, confirmed that the mission never existed. I am grateful for his help.

<sup>114</sup> The Boxer Protocol (1900) banned the imports of Western armament in China. Canadian transit of arms exports to China had to await British approval before the resumption of trade. This decision is in sharp contrast with the Canadian transit of arms to China in 1895 when the British had no specific opinion on Canadian arm exports to China. NAC, RG20, Industrie et commerce, série A-1, volume 1099, dossier: 1660, *Rifles and munitions of war destined for China to be shipped by Empress India*, 1894.



exhibition.<sup>115</sup> Because of Canada's increased commercial interest in Asia, in 1905 Canada's trade representative in Yokohama Japan, Mr. Alex MacLean, was instructed to establish an office in China. One year after MacLean's mission, the government of Canada appointed a permanent commercial representative to Shanghai,<sup>116</sup> becoming the second Canadian diplomatic representative in the Far East after the establishment of the Tokyo commercial office.<sup>117</sup> MacLean became trade commissioner at the time of the visit to China of William Lyon Mackenzie King in 1909. China responded by appointing the first Chinese Consul General to Ottawa, Mr. Kung Hsin-chao in June 1909.

Canada's foreign policy concerning Asia was focused on a maximum of trade with a minimum of immigration. The restrictive attitude of the Canadian government took into account the domestic situation and external forces (England, the United States and the Asian countries). Historian Kim Richard Nossal notes that the opening of a Chinese consulate by Canadian authorities had little to do with increasing Canada's role in the international community.<sup>118</sup> In 1906 the British ambassador in Tokyo signed a treaty with Japan settling "the provisions of a treaty of commerce and navigation between the Empire

---

<sup>115</sup> Charles J. Woodworth, *Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations* (Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1941), p. 67. "Sydney Fisher, Laurier's Minister of Agriculture, attended the Japan exhibition at Osaka at which Canadian goods were displayed for the first time in Japan."

<sup>116</sup> On the eve of the Vancouver riot, Japan was intensifying its relations with Canada. During his visit the cousin of the Japanese emperor donated an impressive collection of snuff bottles to the Fine Arts Museum of Montréal. See also Klaus Pringsheim, "Japan and Canada" in Paul M. Evans and B. Michael Frolic, ed., *Reluctant Adversaries: Canada and the People's Republic of China 1949-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 13. "Thus when Prince Sadanaru Fushimi, a cousin of the emperor, made an official visit, landing in Québec in June 1907 and staying for a month to visit all the major centers in Canada, he was received with popular enthusiasm everywhere."

<sup>117</sup> Mitchell, "The Missionary Connection," p. 19.

<sup>118</sup> Kim Richard Nossal, "Strange Bedfellows: Canada and China in War and Revolution, 1942-1947," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977, p.17-18. Woodworth, p. 103.

of Japan and the British Dominion of Canada."<sup>119</sup> The announcement had the effect of dramatically increasing Japanese immigration to Canada and diminishing Canada's discretion in handling Pacific affairs. In reaction to the influx of Japanese immigrants, riots broke out in Vancouver. Following the anti-Japanese riots of 1907, Postmaster General Rodolphe Lemieux (1866-1937) <sup>120</sup> was dispatched to Japan on behalf of the Canadian government to limit the number of Japanese immigrants to Canada. Japanese immigration had to be handled with care because Chinese and Indian immigration to Canada would certainly be affected by any position that the Canadian government adopted. Japan was an ally of Britain, China had treaty relations with Britain, and India was part of the dominions of the British crown. Canada, with no naval protection on the West Coast, had to manage frictions with Japan to make sure that it did not impair the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Lemieux secured the Gentleman's Agreement (1908)<sup>121</sup> in which the Japanese agreed to limit emigration to Canada to a maximum of 400 people per year. This was Canada's first international agreement.<sup>122</sup>

Canadian attempts to minimize Chinese immigration to Canada failed. In 1909 Mackenzie King, then Minister of Labour, was sent to China to appear at the International Opium Commission in Shanghai and to discuss the import of opium to

---

<sup>119</sup> C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict* (University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 83.

<sup>120</sup> Rodolphe Lemieux was Solicitor General of Canada from 1904 to 1906 and a Member of Parliament (1896-1911 and 1917-1930).

<sup>121</sup> Pringsheim, p. 17.

<sup>122</sup> Woodworth, p. 182. "Historically, the Lemieux agreement of 1907-08 was Canada's first important step toward independent diplomacy."

Canada, as well as immigration matters. King needed to negotiate the type of Gentleman's Agreement Lemieux had secured in Japan. King was not able to explain the discriminatory measures taken by Canada against the Chinese, who refused to agree on any immigration treaty.<sup>123</sup> King's failure to secure quotas of Chinese immigrants left the issue unresolved until Canada unilaterally closed its doors to Chinese immigration in 1923.

Trade between Québec and China became more diversified after the suppression of the Boxers. The opening of a postal route between Québec City and Hong Kong and the completion of the Canadian Pacific railway facilitated trade between Québec and China. Québec exports to China included grains, pulp and life insurance,<sup>124</sup> while Québec imports from China consisted of porcelain, rice, tea and opium.<sup>125</sup> Efforts to accelerate Québec and Canadian exports to China were sponsored by the new diplomatic appointees in the Far East as noted earlier.

Notwithstanding the growth in Québec/China trade, Québec's main export to China was missionaries. Being the most organized Québec group to go to Asia, missionaries consolidated Québec's involvement in China. Aside from the Presbyterian and Methodists

---

<sup>123</sup> See Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978). Canada's most recent increase in the Chinese head tax, from \$100 to \$500 had come in 1904.

<sup>124</sup> Woodworth, pp. 249-250. "The Sun Life Assurance Company began operating in North China in 1894, and in Hong Kong in 1899. The Manufacturers' Life Insurance Company opened a branch office in China in 1897. The Crown Life began business in 1931 and the Confederation Life opened their Shanghai office in 1932 and Hong Kong in 1935."

<sup>125</sup> Con, p. 16.

involved with the CIM, Catholics in Québec joined the missionary movement in China. This Pan-Christian missionary involvement touched almost all Quebecers. Most of the Catholic schools in Québec were mobilized for support for Québec's missions in China. Distant China became the principal travel destination outside North America for some 800 Québec Catholic missionaries.

The most active Québec-based missionary group in imperial China was the Société des Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception (MIC). In 1900 young sister Délia Tétrault (1865-1941) met with Montréal's Archbishop Paul Bruchési to propose the creation of a missionary enterprise, resulting in Québec's first Catholic contribution to the evangelization of China.<sup>126</sup> Tétrault founded the MIC in 1902. In 1903 MIC opened a school in Outremont for the Chinese, which was a prelude to its further involvement in China.<sup>127</sup> MIC became the most active Québec missionary group in China. Excluding Manchuria, Macao, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, MIC sent 143 sisters to China from 1909 to 1949.<sup>128</sup>

The Franciscans were another important Québec missionary group heading for China. As early as autumn 1902, two Franciscan nuns from Québec City were sent to

---

<sup>126</sup> Pauline Longtin, *Fondement de l'esprit missionnaire chez Délia Tétrault* (Montréal: Les Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, 1983), p. 28.

<sup>127</sup> *Le Précurseur*, No. 8, January 1922, p. 293.

<sup>128</sup> Groulx, p. 104.

Shandong to replace French sisters who had been killed during the Boxer Rebellion.<sup>129</sup> The Franciscans were well informed of what was going on in China because they had access to French periodicals reporting on numerous missionary endeavours in China.<sup>130</sup> In addition, the French presence in Shanghai, Beijing, and Yunnan gave Québec Franciscans a direct link to international news and, as noted earlier, to protection.

The Québec Methodist mission also played a role in Québec/China relations during the late imperial period. Its members worked in the West China Mission in Sichuan, a hot bed of revolutionary activity. Québec Methodists sponsored missionary work in China, notably in the Dental Medicine Department established in Chengdu in 1907. The Methodist Church of Québec City financed the work of Dr. A. W. Lindsay of the Dental Department.<sup>131</sup> The West China Mission felt compelled to express its "gratitude to the Québec Methodist Church for its splendid and timely support in the beginning, for without it is greatly to be doubted whether there would be any Dental Department to-day."<sup>132</sup> Rev. John Parker and Mrs. Parker, supported by the Montreal District Epworth Leagues, operated in Chongqing, Sichuan.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>129</sup> Austin, p. 152. The Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie would send a missionary who would stay 18 years in China. The *Annales franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* indicate that upon her return in Canada, she became responsable of the Franciscaines in Québec City. "La mère assistante de la Maison de Québec, revenue de Chine après un séjour de dix-huit ans, se rendit en toute hâte à l'Hôtel-Dieu."

<sup>130</sup> *Annales des Franciscaines Missionnaires*, Paris, 1886-.

<sup>131</sup> The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *Our West China Mission* (Toronto: [s.n.], 1920), p. 401.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

The French and the British made great efforts to tap the interior of Sichuan, a wealthy China province which was famous for its silk and large population. The French had planned a railway which was to link French Indochina (Haiphong) with the great Chinese interior of Sichuan. The construction of a railway began in 1897 and took 13 years to complete.<sup>134</sup> It was a great achievement in railway engineering, but also a financial disaster and could not be continued up to Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, thereby making the construction of the railway a disappointment.<sup>135</sup> During the construction of the railway, Sun Yat-sen attempted his eighth coup to overthrow the dynasty. The *Presbyterian Record*, published in Montreal by the Young Men Christian Association (YMCA) reported:

Wei-Hwei-fu (Henan), February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1907. Many members of a strong anti-foreign, and anti-dynastic society came into the city and prepared to advance their own plans if the opportunity should prove favourable. The night of the riot the official sent ten soldiers out to the compound in case the mob should attack us, and these soldiers remained on guard at night for about a week. Things were outwardly quiet at present, but the secret society men are still active, and have not been interfered with by the government."<sup>136</sup>

Sun and his supporters had prepared the coup while staying in Hanoi, Vietnam Indochina.

Qing officials were not pleased to see Sun enjoy this freedom from French authorities in

---

<sup>134</sup> "Notre nouvelle mission au Yunnan" in *Missions Étrangères du Québec*, vol. III, no. 8, March-April 1948. "Un chemin de fer à voie étroite, construit par une compagnie française d'Indochine, devenu depuis chemin de fer chinois, devait nous conduire jusqu'à cette ville. La construction de cette voie ferrée est une oeuvre de génie comparable à celle du Canadien Pacifique dans les Rocheuses."

<sup>135</sup> Serge Granger, "Un chemin de fer en Chine: les efforts français au Yunnan, 1872-1911," M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1996, p. 80.

<sup>136</sup> Edith McGill, "Letter from Honan" in *The Presbyterian*, vol. XXXII, no. 6, 1907, p. 260.

Indochina and which allowed him to recruit rebels among railway labour.<sup>137</sup> After a series of unsuccessful rebellions in Fang-cheng and Chen-nan-kuan (China-Vietnam border), Sun, residing in rue de Voltaire in Hanoi, was arrested and forced to leave the country. He left for Singapore.

Québec Catholic missions began sending volunteers to China during the troubled times of the last Qing decade. The first missionaries from MIC left Montréal on September 8, 1909 and disembarked at Canton to open the school cathéchistesses de Marie-Immaculée.<sup>138</sup> The first director was Marie de Saint-Gérard who was replaced by Sister Saint-Alphonse de Liguori, the future founder of the Notre Dame-des-Anges missionaries. She stayed in China from 1910-1914.<sup>139</sup> MIC was also responsible for the education of foreign girls in Canton, while the Shu Tak School provided secondary education. It was the first Catholic secondary school for young women to open in Canton.<sup>140</sup>

Pressure on Québec Catholics to send missionaries to China came from outside sources as well. Catholic Bishop of Canton Mgr Mérel wrote to the Archbishop Bruchési of Montréal, to thank him for his blessing of the first Québec Roman Catholic Church

---

<sup>137</sup> Jeffrey G. Barlow, *Sun Yat-sen and the French, 1900-1908* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 77. "Perhaps the most serious charge raised by the Ch'ing was that many of the rebels involved had been recruited from coolies employed by French railways."

<sup>138</sup> Henri Bourassa, *Le Canada Apostolique* (Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1919), p. 147. *Braise et Encens*, p. 51.

<sup>139</sup> Émile Gervais, *Les Soeurs missionnaires Notre-dame-des-anges de Sherbrooke* (Québec: Bélisle Éditeur, 1963), p. 14.

<sup>140</sup> Henri Bourassa, p. 148.

envoy to China in 1909.<sup>141</sup> The Bishop of Canton wrote in the *Messenger Canadien* to encourage greater efforts to send Québec missionaries to China.<sup>142</sup> In 1910, Pope Pius X sent Father Allard of the Missions Étrangères to Québec to gather support for the Church's Chinese and Burmese missions.<sup>143</sup>

Some Québec missionaries leaving for China arrived in time to witness the last years of the Qing dynasty. The Franciscans sent Father Didace Arcand who arrived in Shandong on November 1st, 1911, in the midst of the revolution.<sup>144</sup> Upon his arrival in Chefoo, he found the Chinese revolution in full swing; two thousand revolutionaries from Shanghai landed in Chefoo in January 1912.<sup>145</sup> Anarchy and confusion prevailed, while bandits roamed the cities to gather the spoils of victory. Father Arcand counted 46 revolutionaries dead and complained that he was not as well informed about the revolution as people from Europe and Canada.<sup>146</sup> Arcand did not remain alone in Shandong as Mgr Louis-Prosper Durand OFM (1885-1952) arrived in the mission at Chefoo on November

---

<sup>141</sup> Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, *Mission canadienne de Canton, Chine* (Outremont: [s.n.], 1911), p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> *Le Messenger Canadien du Sacré-Coeur*, vol. XIX, no. 8, August 1910, pp. 351-352.

<sup>143</sup> Ernest Bilodeau, *Un Canadien errant* (Montréal: Imprimerie de La Salle, 1919), p. 77.

<sup>144</sup> Ferdinand Coiteux, *Père Didace Arcand, o.f.m. Martyr du communisme à Chefoo le 8 février 1952* (Montréal: Éditions Franciscaines, 1960), p. 43. Arcand stayed 40 years in Shandong, where he died in jail in 1952.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59. "Samedi, 2,000 Révolutionnaires venant de Shanghai ont débarqué à Chefoo au son des trompettes, du tambour. Réception enthousiaste par la foule."

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.



10<sup>th</sup>, 1912.<sup>147</sup> As for the Methodist Québec missionaries in Sichuan province, most left their posts during the revolutionary turmoil. Only four Québec missionaries stayed in Chongqing where the revolution resulted in little bloodshed.<sup>148</sup> Also, a new Presbyterian mission was created in Manchuria during the revolution. Canadian and Québec missionaries followed Koreans who migrated to Northeast China during the Korean troubles of 1910.<sup>149</sup>

The fall of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Republic of China (1912) under the GMD gave Québec missionaries hope for expanded contact between Québec and China. However, the Republic quickly turned into an illusion. In fact, the establishment of the Chinese Republic nurtured political intrigues and plots that undermined the frail constitutional order. Few Chinese believed in constitutional ideas as strongly as did Liang Qichao. The lack of a bourgeoisie denied any basis for a constitutional government in China and regional divisions among the conservative Confucian gentry undermined the centralization of power in China. It also showed the weakness of China in repulsing foreign intrusion on its soil. The revolution gave Western knowledge to China, but few believed that a 2,000 year old imperial system could be replaced overnight. Few Chinese knew how a republic functioned and few believed in republican ideals.

---

<sup>147</sup> *Rapport des Missions 1935-1936, Missions Étrangères* (Shanghai: [s.n.], 1936), p. 24. Didace Arcand, Anselme Clavel, Léon Robillard, Louis Provost were also sent to China.

<sup>148</sup> *Our West China Mission* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1920), p. 231.

<sup>149</sup> Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), p. 7.

Québec reaction to the Republican Revolution was in general positive. For Québec missionaries, revolution meant that the new Chinese leaders would be more sympathetic to Christian ideas. Fernand Coiteux explains that Father Didace Arcand was convinced that "les prétendants au pouvoir se montrèrent favorables à la religion catholique."<sup>150</sup> Some Québec missionaries believed that the Chinese were adopting Western beliefs, customs, and perhaps religious thought. The *Annales Franciscaines* said:

Puisque maintenant la République est stable et sur des bases solides, et que les cinq races dont elle se compose sont gouvernées par un code commun et identique de droit civil, nous avons vraiment et justement besoin de la doctrine et vertu et progresser plus rapidement dans la civilisation.<sup>151</sup>

Missionary and writer Bonaventure Péloquin saw the China revolution as a great opportunity for Québec missionaries:

Mais aujourd'hui les circonstances ont changé. Depuis la fin du dernier siècle, et en particulier, depuis le changement de régime, nous jouissons en Chine, pour prêcher et répandre notre sainte religion, d'une liberté beaucoup plus grande. À défaut de lois, les traités conclus sont là, bien clairs et précis.<sup>152</sup>

The Protestants also believed that the Republic facilitated Québec missionary work in China:

---

<sup>150</sup> Coiteux, p.49.

<sup>151</sup> *Annales des Franciscaines missionnaires de Marie*, Paris, 28<sup>th</sup> year, April 1914, p. 100.

<sup>152</sup> Bonaventure Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire* (Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire, 1922), p. 205.

The coming of the Republic was heralded by not a few as though it was the beginning of the millennium in China, but though time has proved, as might have been expected, that a mere change of government cannot change the heart of man, the Revolution was undoubtedly accompanied by a most extraordinary opportunity for preaching the Gospel.<sup>153</sup>

The *Messenger Canadien* also wrote that the revolution created more favorable conditions in which missionaries might convert the Chinese masses:

Ces dispositions favorables du gouvernement et du peuple chinois (depuis les boxeurs) à l'égard des idées et de la civilisation «européennes», persévéreront-elles? Bien des signes, malheureusement, obligent à en douter... On le sait, enfin, l'immense empire est actuellement en pleine révolution. Mais de cette affreuse guerre civile, quel peut-être le résultat? L'établissement, comme au Japon, d'un régime calqué plus ou moins calqué sur celui des nations chrétiennes; dans ce cas, l'avenir pourrait être splendide pour l'église de Chine.<sup>154</sup>

Some Québec missionaries were not certain of the direction of the Chinese revolution. Even though the new revolution brought change, many saw the revolution as a step towards the modern secular western-type of state, a model that was not too popular with Catholic missionaries. China's revolutionaries had proven that they were enthusiastic about science and modernity; but it was also increasingly clear to China's revolutionaries that religion was not necessary for the new, more pragmatic China. This demonstration of scientific confidence left numerous Québec missionaries in doubt about the real nature of the revolutionaries and their associates, such as Sun Yat-sen:

---

<sup>153</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1915), p. 324.

Ou bien, ce qui est malheureusement plus probable, une anarchie grandissante, une fureur de ruines et de massacres comme les Taiping [...] Le plus grand mal, c'est que de ces écoles nouvelles sort une jeunesse révolutionnaire et rationaliste, prétentieuse autant qu'ignorante, profondément corrompue, sur laquelle l'apostolat catholique a moins de prises que sur les rustres de jadis; c'est cette jeunesse qui a lancé la rébellion actuelle.<sup>155</sup>

As we have seen, Québec's involvement during the last decade of Qing rule became more inclusive as missionaries, politicians, traders, and adventurers contributed to sustained Québec contact with China. The last Qing decade saw the opening of China for Québec. Any Quebecer could now leave Québec for China no matter what his or her social background. Québec missionary organizations provided a means by which individual Quebecers, old and young, men and women, could enroll in China mission work and live the China experience. Whether Catholic or Protestant, Québec missionary congregations permitted any Quebecer to go to China.

The last Qing decade also facilitated the first political and diplomatic contacts between Québec and China. Liang Qichao, the most notable Chinese visitor to Québec, described how the Canadian constitutional monarchy might be useful for China. Canadian and Québec diplomats learned more about Asia and China and were thus able to maximize trade opportunities. Trade was on the rise. The dispatch of Canadian diplomats to Asia was also intended to limit immigration from Asia to Canada. It shaped Canadian foreign

---

<sup>154</sup> Joseph de la Servière, "Quelques réflexions sur la Chine" in *Le Messager Canadien*, vol. XXI, no. 7 juillet 1912, pp. 291-297.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

policy towards China, which was to work for a maximum of trade with a minimum of immigration.

Just when Québec's involvement began to take root, the republican revolution changed the way that China functioned; from a paternalistic, centralized, and omnipresent bureaucracy, China disintegrated into warlordism and confusion. Québec missionaries believed that the republican revolution provided greater opportunities for Christianity in China. Québec missionaries at the time of the revolution claimed that China was ripe for Catholic enlightenment; and that more Québec missionaries were needed for this golden opportunity. Congregations began establishing a network of missions that ultimately brought many Québec missionaries to China.

## **PART TWO**

### **Québec's Involvement in Republican China (1912-1937)**

China's early republican period (1912-1937) witnessed the high point of Québec involvement in China. Part two of this thesis looks at the republican period in two chapters. Chapter three examines Québec's favorable reaction to the establishment of the Republic of China, but suggests that Québec missionaries distrusted the GMD party under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. Chapter four looks at the reaction of Québec missionaries to the GMD once the party had unified China in 1927.

The republican era represents a transitional period in which China's new elites, such as the military, intellectuals and politicians, scrambled to achieve national unity, a process duly recorded by Quebecers in China. Political instability, civil war and warlords characterized the first fifteen years of the Chinese republic. Even during the warlord period, Québec involvement grew steadily. The number of individuals from Québec traveling to China increased dramatically after the GMD unified the country. Different Québec advisers, teachers, and missionaries went to China (along with others from all over the world), to take part in the reconstruction of China. Quebecers witnessed the social and political transformation of China during these republican years. Québec missionary periodicals were critical of the republican government, accusing the GMD of incompetence in the field of education, inadequacy in dealing with the emerging communist movement and weakness in repelling the Japanese from Manchuria.

## Chapter III

### Québec's Involvement in Warlord China (1912-1927)

Chinese political instability from 1912 to 1927 did not discourage Québec's involvement in warlord China. Québec's trade with China was on the rise and Québec missionary congregations in China were multiplying. These newly arriving missionaries established journals which introduced China to the people of Québec. World War One accelerated the disintegration of the Chinese state and increased Chinese intellectuals' despair about and dissatisfaction with their government. Chinese frustration with the West crystallized during the May Fourth Movement (1919) under a new group of radical leaders who would soon after create the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The efforts of Sun Yat-sen's GMD to reunite China by enlarging its political base with the CCP was seen very negatively by Québec missionaries. Sun's sudden death in 1925 did not end the GMD effort to reunite China. Sun's successor, Chiang Kai-shek, was preparing a so-called Northern Expedition aimed at restoring Chinese unity and ending the warlord period. The ongoing battle between numerous warlords forced them to seek help from abroad, including from Québec.

This chapter explores the reaction of Québec missionaries to the Chinese republic under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. Québec missionaries distrusted the GMD because Sun was willing to accept the communists under his united front policy.

The failure of the republic in China was overshadowed by political fragmentation, which did not deter the arrival of more Québec missionaries in China. This chapter also demonstrates that World War One encouraged contacts between Québec and China by creating increased demand for Québec missionaries in China. Because European missionary recruitment was severely affected by the war, the increasing number of Québec missionaries in China increased, resulting in the publication of more and more periodicals which became Québec's first literature on China. This chapter also suggests that Québec's missionary movement and Canadian trade continued to grow despite the political instability in warlord China. The 1927 fragile "unification" of China under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek did not fundamentally change Québec's missionary negative perception of the GMD, which was still perceived to be an atheist party.

Many factors encouraged the involvement of missionaries from Québec in warlord China. First of all, international treaties protected foreign missionaries in China.<sup>156</sup> Second, Chinese political instability delayed the establishment of a national government which was capable of repulsing or controlling foreigners. Third, China's warlords needed foreign help to provide social services and modern education to the masses. Finally, World War One put additional pressure on Québec's congregations to replace European missionaries in the Orient. Europe was exhausted from the war and European missionary organizations' recruitment efforts were severely affected; Québec missionaries were therefore asked to take over the work of European missions in China. Missionaries from the Jesuits (1918), the Soeurs Missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges (1922), the Soeurs du

---

<sup>156</sup> Québec's dual status benefitted from British and French gains, such as the Treaty of Tianjin.



Précieux Sang (1924),<sup>157</sup> the Société des Missions Étrangères du Québec with the Clercs Saint-Viateur (1925),<sup>158</sup> and the Ursulines of Stanstead (1924) joined the original missionary congregations active in imperial China.<sup>159</sup>

The initial optimism of Québec Catholics missionaries prior to the Revolution of 1911 was transformed into greater mistrust of Chinese republicans after the revolution. At first, the republican revolution suggested that China was moving toward a political system more compatible with the West. But as we will see later on, Québec Catholic missionaries complained about the atheist aspect of the GMD and noted that the new revolutionaries despised Catholicism as a tool of modernization. On the basis of this perception, Québec missionaries expressed a continual skepticism of the GMD's protestant leaders such as Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek.

Overall, Québec missionaries believed that the Chinese revolution had been a failure. For Québec missionaries, the republican model was inappropriate because China was not ready for constitutional government and democratic leadership. The ongoing struggles between warlords, who were interested in protecting their regional power base, delayed the establishment of a real national government for China. For Québec missionaries, the failure of the new republican system was also attributable to the absence

---

<sup>157</sup> Groulx, pp. 104-105.

<sup>158</sup> Yun Juan Hu. "L'image de la Chine dans la pensée des soeurs missionnaires (1909-1938)," Rapport de maîtrise, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 1992, p. 5.

<sup>159</sup> The Franciscans (1902); Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception (1909); Presbyterians (1872); Methodists (1877); and the United Church of Canada (1925).

of a strong national bourgeoisie without which there was no solid basis for a constitutional government. Furthermore, because the conservative gentry was unable to accept a democratic system which would challenge its power and authority, there were few educated Chinese who understood constitutional ideas. Finally, from the Québec missionary perspective, the leadership of the revolution was a problem. Sun Yat-sen's career as a "professional" revolutionary propelled him to the position of provisional president of the Republic of China, but he relied too heavily on overseas Chinese support and lacked military support within China.<sup>160</sup> In South China, Sun was proclaimed provisional President, but in an effort to gain military support from the Republic, he offered the position to Qing general Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) who accepted probably without understanding the concept of Republic or the role of the President .

Québec's perception of Yuan Shikai was not unanimous. Missionary Didace Arcand in Shandong was not surprised to see Yuan's imperial ambitions because he had foreseen Yuan's imperial dreams as early as the beginning of the republican revolution. For Arcand, Yuan had protected the last emperor Puyi (1905-1967) in order to use him and proclaim himself as the new imperial ruler of China.<sup>161</sup> For Québec's poet Alain Grandbois (1900-1975), Yuan Shikai dreamed of becoming an emperor and his drive for

---

<sup>160</sup> Irene Mahomey, *Avec toi jusqu'au bout du monde, 30 ans de mission ursuline en Chine* (Québec: Éditions Anne Sigier, 1997), p. 61. 1911: "les dix années suivantes n'apportèrent pas la paix. Sun Yat-sen n'est pas assez fort pour tenir en échec les factions en conflit." Mahomey does not mention Sun was a Christian.

<sup>161</sup> Coiteux, p. 63. "Et à la fin, sur le Premier Ministre Yuen-Kai-She [Yuan Shikai], qui a décidé l'Empereur à abdiquer sous prétexte de le sauver, le P. Didace porte un jugement que l'histoire semble justifier: Il me paraît un homme avec un visage à deux faces; il l'a fait abdiquer pour prendre sa place."

power blurred his perception of political reality in China at that time.<sup>162</sup> The Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie believed that Yuan could provide a period of stability for missionary work in China.<sup>163</sup> In any case, Yuan died a few months after his ill-fated imperial restoration; this left China with a lack of both military and political leadership. The Methodist Church believed that "the troublous times following Yuan Shi-Kai's attempt at a monarchy have delayed completion [of the republic]."<sup>164</sup> After Yuan's death China disintegrated into factions of local warlords fighting for central power and international recognition.

The Canadian government had always had a policy of recognizing the government of Beijing as the official government of China. After the opening of a Chinese Consulate in Ottawa and the new Canadian Department of External Affairs (1909), Canada had never supported Sun Yat-sen. Sun failed to get Canadian recognition of his government because his influence was limited to South China. During the warlord period, the Canadian government preferred to recognize Beijing as the official government of China even though the city was under warlord rule. Beijing had been the capital of China since 1403; tradition played a huge role on Canada's decision. In Québec, the Catholic Church did not

---

<sup>162</sup> Personal archives of Alain Grandbois, Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, Box 204/4/9. See the manuscript of Alain Grandbois concerning Yuan Shi kai: "un rêve l'habitait (empereur), sa puissance l'étourdissait."

<sup>163</sup> *Annales Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie*, 28<sup>th</sup> year, June 1914, p. 168. "Heureusement, les troupes de Yuan-She-Kai firent naître dans tous les coeurs des sentiments d'espérance, car les soldats locaux, de fidélités douteuse et toujours vaincus, augmentaient le danger." *Annales Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* 28<sup>th</sup> year, July 1914, p. 200. "Nous avons espoir que beaucoup d'autres les suivront; le nouveau régime de la Chine [Yuan Shikai] étant plus favorable au catholicisme, la disposition générale des esprits s'en ressent et rend l'apostolat plus facile."

<sup>164</sup> *Our West China Mission*, p. 230.

support republicanism; therefore there was little support for recognizing Sun as President of the Republic of China.

To be fair, Sun Yat-sen neglected Canadian and Québec support for the revolution. The fact that before the revolution Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei asserted considerable influence over the Chinese in Canada (mainly in British Columbia, but also in Québec) had diminished Sun's interest in Canada. Canada, as a constitutional monarchy, did not suit his political needs as much as the American model of government. However, winds began to change after emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi died in 1908. The Qing dynasty survived another four years before its abolition in 1912. In 1911 an improvised mutiny turned into a nation-wide revolution. When news reached Sun Yat-sen, he was in the United States. He returned to China via Canada and Montréal before sailing to Europe. On his third and last visit to Montréal,<sup>165</sup> Sun established a branch of the Tung Meng Hui and received over 4,000 dollars from the Cheekungtung Chinese organization.<sup>166</sup> This was Sun's last visit to Montréal before returning to China to participate in the republican government.<sup>167</sup>

A Québec perspective on the early days of the Republic suggests that it was not likely to succeed. MIC was among the first Québec missionary organizations to report

---

<sup>165</sup> Con, p. 77.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 105. The Tung Meng Hui would become the Guomindang in 1912.

<sup>167</sup> The Tung Meng Hui was created in Tokyo in 1905 by Sun. His base of support was among the numerous Chinese students. Levy, pp. 65-66. "In mid-February 1911, Sun moved to British Columbia to Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, and New York. Along the way, he won more followers with his promise of success. At this point, total world membership for the TMH might have reached 10,000."

back to Québec on the Chinese revolution and Sun Yat-sen's political career. In a brochure published in 1913 the missionaries explain that the establishment of a republic in China had encouraged political intrigues and plots that undermined the frail constitutional order. In any case, in early 1912 Sun Yat-sen had relinquished the presidency of the new Chinese republic in favor of the powerful Qing general Yuan Shikai whose power base was in North China. The Canadian government and Québec missionaries quickly recognized Yuan Shikai as the new leader of China. Liang Qichao was appointed Minister of Justice; he resigned in 1913 after Yuan plotted against Sun's supporters. Simply put, Yuan Shikai acted autocratically because he did not understand the constitutional system. Sun's GMD-based forces declared independence on July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1913. By the end of July, Yuan Shikai's forces had defeated Sun's supporters in Guangdong. MIC missionaries had to find refuge in Hong Kong.

Le 25 juillet, il [Sun] partait pour Hong Kong et préparer le lieu de refuge pour la communauté cantonnaise...Notre voyage avait été décidé à la suite d'une dépêche que le consul de France venait de recevoir, laquelle lui déclarait que Pékin devait attaquer Canton, et que déjà Lung, à la tête d'une nombreuse armée, marchait sur la ville. [...] Le 31, les nouvelles devenaient alarmantes: les armées [of Yuan Shikai] étaient presque à nos portes et remportaient partout des victoires sur les rebelles. [...] 30 août 1913: À peine étions-nous installées à Hong Kong<sup>168</sup> que nous y apprenions la fuite du généralissime [Sun Yat-sen] des armées de la rébellion. Il aurait atteint un vaisseau allemand. [...] La rébellion vaincue, mais la paix n'est pas pour cela rétablie: terribles sont les représailles: assassinats et exécutions sont à l'ordre du jour.<sup>169</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> A group of French missionaries recall being boarded by those Québec missionaries in Hong Kong. See the *Annales Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie*, 28<sup>th</sup> year April 1914, p. 109. "[Hong Kong:] où s'abrite pour le moment une Communauté religieuse canadienne, avec une centaine d'orphelines et quelques pensionnaires chrétiennes. La guerre les a obligées à s'enfuir de Kouang-tong, et leurs Vicaire apostolique les a recommandées aux religieuses de Hong-Kong."

<sup>169</sup> Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, *1913 à l'Immaculée-Conception*, pp. 10-16.

Ongoing political instability in China did not deter the dispatch of new Québec missionaries during the early days of the new Republic of China. In fact, in the eyes of Québec missionaries in China, political instability was proof that China needed salvation. The Presbyterian North Henan mission welcomed missionaries such as Dr. Fred Auld from Montréal.<sup>170</sup> Québec Franciscans sent Father Prosper<sup>171</sup> and Father Césaire<sup>172</sup> to Shandong, while the MIC sent its fourth contingent of sisters to Southern China in 1913.<sup>173</sup> Three years later Canton authorities asked the MIC to take charge of a public orphanage in Tong Shang.<sup>174</sup> That same year, the MIC opened the Holy Spirit Academy in Shamian Island (Canton) with instruction offered in both English and Chinese.<sup>175</sup> The MIC also

---

<sup>170</sup> Scott, p. 35.

<sup>171</sup> Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire*, p. 23.

<sup>172</sup> Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire*, p. 125. "Father Césaire was director of a school in Fang-tze before it was transferred to Tsing-chow-fou (1917)." Father Anselme was also sent to Shandong.

<sup>173</sup> Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, *1913 à l'Immaculée-Conception*, p. 7. "La seconde des oeuvres fut proposée par le nouveau gouvernement. En Septembre dernier (1913), les autorités républicaines de Canton nous offraient la direction de la nouvelle leprosie (5 sous canadiens par jour) pour femmes."

<sup>174</sup> *Le Précurseur*, no. 8, January 1922, p. 287. "En 1916, le successeur à la police de Chan-Kwing-Wa, M. Wong s'honora et honora en même temps la mission catholique, en lui confiant la vaste crèche de Tong-Shang, qui reçoit près de quatre mille bébés par an. Deux soeurs canadiennes MIC ont la surintendance de l'oeuvre et pleine autorité sur le personnel. M. Chan Kwing Wa était protestant; on peut donc affirmer, sans témérité, qu'il était dans ses réformes animé par l'esprit chrétien." Groulx, p. 98. "Sur elles les pires épreuves s'abattent: révolution de 1911 à 1914, guerre civile, épidémie de peste, famine, débordement du fleuve Si Kiang. Religieuses et élèves se réfugient à Hong Kong ou à Macao. Vainqueur de l'empire Chinois, le gouvernement offre aux religieuses une grande léproserie, celle de Shek Lung, près de Canton. Quatre se rendent au poste en 1913." Groulx, p. 99. "Seules les aumônes venues du Canada soutiennent le lazaret de l'île Saint-Joseph. C'est pour lui venir en aide qu'Henri Bourassa met en vente son Canada Apostolique (1919)." Henri Bourassa, p. 149. "La bonne tenue de la crèche de Canton a si vivement frappé les autorités civiles, qu'en 1916 elles ont confié à nos petites soeurs la direction d'une crèche de l'État, à Tong Shang."

<sup>175</sup> Groulx, p. 99. "L'Académie du Saint-Esprit [Shamian island] a pu attirer 600 élèves au cours du chinois et au cours anglais."

worked in Manchuria and Taiwan during the Japanese occupation of the island (1895-1945). The Anglican Montréal missionary N.P. Yates worked among the tribes in the Taite region in Taiwan and "seldom saw any Westerners."<sup>176</sup>

One new arrival during the early republican period was Franciscan Bonaventure Péloquin (1882-1959) who became a prolific author on the Orient. He and three other missionaries worked in Shandong province,<sup>177</sup> the scene of numerous upheavals.<sup>178</sup> Péloquin stayed in China about six years before returning to Montréal in 1921. He had grand dreams about China. He returned to Canada to generate publications about the situation in China and to recruit more missionaries for China. *The Revue des Missions Franciscaines* was established to help him promote missionary work in China and he published his book *Débuts d'un missionnaire* which sold over 10,000 copies.<sup>179</sup>

Never was Québec's involvement reconsidered even though China was perceived by Québec missionaries to be a land of political turmoil, bandits and diseases. Warlord

---

<sup>176</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, p. 178.

<sup>177</sup> PP Arsène Mullen, Eusèbe Meunier, Prosper Durand accompanied Bonaventure Péloquin to China according to Coiteux, p. 56. Bonaventure Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire*, p. 23.

<sup>178</sup> Bonaventure Péloquin, *Ame d'élite: le catéchiste Sio Luo T'é* (Montréal: [s.n.], 1915), p. 6. "Les Japonais, maîtres depuis quelque temps [1914] de Tsing-tao [Qingdao] et de la voie ferrée qui traverse la province, faisaient alors le commerce intense des anciennes sapèques. Sur gage Chinois refusent d'avancer de l'argent escarmouche 11 morts japonais...La revanche ne se fit pas attendre. La nuit suivante, les Japonais, au nombre de près de 200, faisaient une descente dans la région, incendiaient 5 villages, et amenaient une trentaine de captifs du nombre desquels était Sio-luô-t'é." (p. 8.) "On était en effet à l'époque de la Révolution. À la première annonce des Ké-ming [Guomindang], le Mandarin était enfui. Les Rebelles, maîtres de la ville, exploitant l'attitude terrorisatrice des Japonais, trouvaient bon de n'avoir qu'à fermer les yeux et se taire pour se faire pardonner leur usurpation; que pouvaient bien faire en effet les villageois contre deux ennemis?" Coiteux, p. 73. "R.P. B. [Bonaventure] Péloquin est au milieu de la tourmente à Poshing."

<sup>179</sup> Bonaventure Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire* (Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire, 1922).

politics may have delayed the sending of Québec missionaries to China on some occasions, but it never deterred the missionaries. Just after the revolution, the MIC were offered by the Canton government a mission for the Manchu community living in the city.<sup>180</sup> Three MIC sisters who had just arrived in Canton could not reach their mission at Shek Lung because of revolutionary circumstances.<sup>181</sup> The republican civil servant in Canton in charge of the agreement with the MIC was killed during the battle between Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shikai.<sup>182</sup>

Bandits were also part of the Québec missionary adventure in China. Upon his arrival, Jesuit missionary Gagnon was held hostage for a month in Tengyue by bandits.<sup>183</sup> Other Québec missionaries sometimes were forced to take some detours on the way to their assigned mission. This provided them with the opportunity to explore new regions for expansion of missionary activity in China. One of the most notable detours was the route to Guiyang in Southwest China. Usually, missionaries arrived in Shanghai, went up the Yangtse River until Chongqing, and then by road to Guiyang. But when bandits cut

---

<sup>180</sup> Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, *1913 à l'Immaculée-Conception*, pp. 4-5. "De l'abolition du régime impérial devait surgir la première, dite oeuvre des Mandchoux." Groulx, p.98. "Mission de Canton: Elle y débute en 1909. Un préfet apostolique français attire les MIC: direction d'une Académie du Saint-Esprit pour jeunes filles païennes, mise en train des oeuvres de la Sainte-Enfance, apostolat auprès des Mandchous, classe de nobles déchus à la suite de la récente révolution. Premier institut canadien-français fondé exclusivement pour la conversion des peuples païens, et le premier aussi à y envoyer ses sujets."

<sup>181</sup> *Braise et Encens*, p. 53. "Dès les début de l'année 1913 juillet, quatrième contingent vers Shak Lung (3 recrues)."

<sup>182</sup> Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, *1913 à l'Immaculée-Conception*, p. 16. "Le chef qui avait signé le contrat de la léprosie fut assassiné. Cela retarda le départ des soeurs pour la léprosie. Entretemps, elles apprennent le chinois."

<sup>183</sup> Jacques Langlais, p. 57. Langlais refers to the article Gagnon published in the *Jesuit Missions*.



off this route, missionaries were forced to go to Vietnam and travel on the French Hanoi-Kunming railway.<sup>184</sup> From Kunming to Guiyang, a three-week trek in Miao territory produced numerous descriptions of the tribe and facilitated the creation of two missions *en route*.<sup>185</sup> In fact, banditry was so endemic to warlord China that Québec Jesuits ironically called their Chinese journal *Le Brigand*.<sup>186</sup>

Nevertheless, disease was the main cause of death of Québec missionaries in China, not bandits. After three years of work, Sister Laurence Lamoureux from the missionary Notre-Dame des Anges, was Québec's first casualty in China. She died in 1917 at Swatow at the age of 24, just a few months after her arrival.<sup>187</sup> The following year a sister from the Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie succumbed to smallpox in Changchung Manchuria.<sup>188</sup> More than ten Québec missionaries died of diseases in republican China, at least five were killed,<sup>189</sup> and one was tortured.<sup>190</sup>

---

<sup>184</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 1, no. 2, April-May-June 1923, pp. 84-85. "Nous traversons les montagnes en tous sens ou plutôt nous serpentons à travers les montagnes. Tout à coup, nous sommes à leurs basses, et, dans l'espace de quelques heures, nous sommes élevés à quatre ou cinq mille pieds de hauteur d'où nous voyons des précipices affreux. Nous avons dû traverser 154 tunnels en 3 jours." According to *Les Missions Franciscaines*, the Québec sisters were the first group of Western women to work in Guiyang.

<sup>185</sup> Mengzi in Yunnan and Anshun in Guizhou.

<sup>186</sup> The magazine would begin publishing in 1930 under the editorship of Louis-Joseph Lavoie. The journal stills appears today.

<sup>187</sup> Gervais, p. 140.

<sup>188</sup> *Annales des Franciscaines missionnaires de Marie*, 28<sup>th</sup> year, September, 1918, p. 9. "La Supérieure de Chang-chung (Mandchourie) canadienne, jeune encore mais pleine de vertus et de mérites, est enlevée en quelques jours par la vérole."

<sup>189</sup> *Missions Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 7, 1941, p. 194. "M. Émile Charest assassiné en sa résidence de Liao-Yuan le 13/2/1934 après 7.5 années en Mandchourie." Groulx, p. 94. "Trois d'entre eux se voient incarcérés, puis tués: Prosper-Émile Bernard, le P. Lalonde, le P. Dubé." Also in Langlais, Annexe I, Albert L'Heureux (1894-1947) got killed in China.

World War One (1914-1918) intensified missionary and diplomatic relations between Québec and China, both directly and indirectly. First of all, the war paralyzed the recruitment efforts of European missionaries. Greater missionary involvement by countries untouched by the war echoed in Québec. Second, the state of emergency engendered by the war accelerated the involvement of Québec in international matters. The fact that Canada and China joined the war efforts along side the Allied forces encouraged Quebecers in China to participate in the war effort on the Allied side.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance directly influenced Canada's position in the Pacific war, for it was Japan that defended Canada's West Coast during the War. Japan, as an ally of the British, attacked German possessions in Shandong in 1914. England, at war in Europe, was too weak to resist attempts by the Japanese to expand their influence in the Pacific and China. In response, the British, French and Italians signed a secret agreement in 1915 confining Japanese influence to Shandong after the departure of the Germans.<sup>191</sup> At the time, China was trying to stay neutral because it feared greater western and Japanese encroachment during the War. Finally, China severed relations with Germany in March 1917<sup>192</sup> and joined the Allied force.<sup>193</sup>

---

<sup>190</sup> See Ferdinand Coiteux, *Martyr à Chefoo. Père Didace Arcand, O.F.M., missionnaire en Chine* (Montréal: Éditions Franciscaines, 1960).

<sup>191</sup> In Shandong Germans were detained at the "Temple of Abstinence." *Annales des Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie*, 29<sup>th</sup> year, September 1919, p. 393. "Les Chinois ont célébré la victoire des Alliés par de grandes et éblouissantes fêtes. Dès ce jour et sans aucune hésitation ils ont tous été partisans de l'Entente. Aussi continue-t-on à interner les Allemands dans un temple qu'on a surnommé le temple de l'abstinence..."

<sup>192</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 9.

During World War One pressure exerted on Québec missionaries to go to China came from two sources. For one thing, European missionaries who wanted their missions to survive used their connections in Québec to gain access to more human resources. As well, Québec missionaries already in China reported back home about the urgent need for greater involvement by Québec missionaries. The *Messenger Canadien* announced that Québec Jesuits were preparing to relieve the French Jesuits of their duty in China.<sup>194</sup> In 1918 Québec Jesuits responded by sending Father Édouard Goulet to Nanjing and Father Paul Gagnon to Hubei at the request of French missionaries.<sup>195</sup> Québec Franciscans also sent missionaries to China during the war; sisters were sent to Hankow, Shanghai and Chefoo.<sup>196</sup> The missionaries of Notre-Dame des Anges initiated their China missionary activities in Swatow (Shantou) with Sisters Laurence Lamoureux<sup>197</sup> and Florina Gervais.<sup>198</sup> Florina Gervais first went to China with the MIC from 1910 to 1914. After

---

<sup>193</sup> Stacey, p. 151. "When the war broke out in 1914 Canada depended for the defence of her coasts upon British, Australian, and Japanese ships. A Japanese battleship and two armoured cruisers were sent to reinforce the West Coast of North America during the period when Admiral von Spee's German squadron was loose in the Pacific. At this juncture the Anglo-Japanese Alliance paid Canada a considerable dividend."

<sup>194</sup> *Messenger Canadien*, vol. XXVI, no. 11, November 1917, p. 304-305. "Plusieurs religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus de la province du Canada se préparèrent à aller remplir les cadres décimés des Jésuites français missionnaires en Chine."

<sup>195</sup> Langlais, pp. 56-57.

<sup>196</sup> "Journal de voyage de nos missionnaires parties de Québec le 4 juin 1918 pour le Japon, la Chine et les Indes" in *Annales des Soeurs Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie*, 29<sup>th</sup> year, February 1919, pp. 181-198. Arriving late July in Shanghai, the group of sisters would disperse and reach their final destination on August first.

<sup>197</sup> Gervais, p. 17. Lamoureux died in 1917 in China while Gervais returned to Canada with Sister Chan Tsi Kwan.

<sup>198</sup> René Bacon, *Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges* (Lennoxville: Missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges, 1996), p. 61.

her second sojourn in China, she established the Notre-Dame des Anges missionary novitiate in Stanstead with the help of Sister Chan Tsi Kwan.<sup>199</sup>

World War One was a major source of concern for Québec missionaries in China. In Shandong Father Arcand recalled "the tragedy of seeing France being outstripped of its possessions in front of the rise of Germany in Shandong."<sup>200</sup> Arcand foresaw the pressure on missionaries if China joined the Allies during the war, predicting that missionaries would be asked to act as translators.<sup>201</sup> Bonaventure Péloquin and other Québec missionaries were against any involvement in the war and preferred to stay in their missions in China.

On espérait toujours voir la situation s'améliorer, quand éclata la grande guerre. Alors, au lieu de secours attendu, ce fut l'appel aux armes! Que de cadres alors se sont vidés, et...sont demeurés vides depuis! Et qui donc viendra combler ces vides, puisque désormais la France se doit surtout à elle-même? Les yeux de tous les Vicaires Apostoliques d'Extrême-Orient sont actuellement tournés vers l'Amérique.<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>199</sup> *Mère Marie-Gabriel, Co-fondatrice des Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges (1899-1974)*, (Lennoxville: [s.n.], 1983). Mère Marie-Gabriel was the religious name of Chan Tsi Kwan, sister in law of Wang Jingwei (1883-1947), Prime Minister (1940-1944) of the Chinese government which collaborated with Japan during World War Two.

<sup>200</sup> Coiteux, p. 70. "Le 23 mai 1914: La débâcle commence: morceau par morceau, la France perd son beau manteau sous lequel les Missionnaires se réfugiaient. [...] Le Shandong septentrional dont la résidence principale est à Tsinanfou [Jinan], vient de passer sous le protectorat allemand...Quelle folie que cette mobilisation en Chine! Quelle perte de face pour nos Chrétiens quelles conséquences pour les païens! On passe pour des espions au service de la France. Il a été beaucoup désapprouvé, le Ministre."

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. The author argues that Arcand said that "Si la Chine entre en guerre avec les Alliés. Il faudra des interprètes pour les Chinois et les Missionnaires seront tout désignés pour le service national." Arcand was a missionary from 1919/14/10 to 13/8/1921 in Weihsien, and from 1921 to 1936 in East Pingtu (Lengkochuang), Shandong province.

<sup>202</sup> Péloquin, *Début d'un missionnaire*, p. XXXI.

The creation of the Chinese Labor Corps (CLC) provided firsthand opportunities for individual Quebecers to serve in China and to assist in the war effort.<sup>203</sup> The British asked Canada to contribute to the war effort by providing safe passage for some 80,000 Chinese laborers who were recruited to work in the factories of Europe during wartime. Two offices for recruitment were opened in Shandong, one in Weihaiwei and the other in Qingdao. As a result, many Chinese labourers left Shandong province en route for Vancouver by ship, after which they were sent to Montréal by train. The operation had to be done in secret to avoid fear of the Chinese among Canadians and to protect transport ships from German attacks. Even after the war, the demand for CLC contingents continued in order to rebuild Europe.<sup>204</sup>

Using Québec missionaries in China to further the war effort was not a policy which received unanimous support in Canada. Historian Hamish Ion points out that the Canadian government "was not adverse" to using missionaries for war-related duties.<sup>205</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 8. "Transport to Europe began in late 1917 from Weihaiwei, a British enclave on the north corner of Shandong. On March 2, 1918, the last CLC contingent left Tsingtao [under Japanese occupation since 1914]."

<sup>204</sup> Jacques Guillerma, *Histoire du parti communiste chinois, des origines à la république soviétique chinoise (1921-1934)* (Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 1975), p. 70. The Canadian link to the CLC vanished after the war. Two famous Chinese leaders who had been part of the CLC did not pass through Montréal on their way to Europe. Both took the Shanghai-Marseilles route. Zhou Enlai (1899-1976) and Deng Xiaoping, (1904-1997) were among the CLC volunteers to France. Zhou became fluent in French while Deng learned union mobilization tactics at Renault industries. Later on, he became the editor of the bi-weekly journal *Ch'ih Kuang* (Lumière rouge) in 1924, the medium of the Chinese communists in France. His journal followed the newspaper *Jeunesse* (Qing nian bao) published by Chen Yannian, son of Chen Duxiu.

<sup>205</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 7. "Nevertheless, regardless of their prewar views, the Canadian government was not adverse to using missionaries in Japan for expertise, especially in language training for the military and in military intelligence in the Pacific theatre. Manchuria was one such place, (no Japanese regulation), and the weak Chinese authorities there did not insist on the same stringent regulations in regard

On the other hand, historian Margo Gewurtz argues that "foreign governments more often than not regarded missionaries as a nuisance."<sup>206</sup> Whatever impact Québec missionaries in China may have had on the Canadian Department of External Affairs,<sup>207</sup> some Québec Protestant missionaries in China served among the personnel who recruited Chinese laborers to work in Europe during the war. Margo Gewurtz's study of the CLC shows that serving Canada drained the missionary resources of the North Henan mission.<sup>208</sup> For some Québec missionaries stationed in China, patriotism conflicted with religious duties.<sup>209</sup> Dr Leslie Percy, who was sponsored by the Erskine Church in Montréal, resigned from the North Henan mission to serve with Chinese labourers in France.<sup>210</sup> Some Québec missionaries were responsible for tutoring Chinese laborers in China and abroad, providing medical help, acting as translators and distributing salaries among the labourers.<sup>211</sup> Aside from the existing offices in Weihaiwei and Qingdao, another office

---

to educational and medical work as the Japanese. Furthermore, foreign rights in Manchuria, as part of China, were protected under territoriality laws. In 1911, following the path of Northward Korean emigration, the Canadian Presbyterians opened a mission center at Lungchingsun (Ryuseison) in Chientao (Kanto) province of Manchuria."

<sup>206</sup> Margo S. Gewurtz, "For God or for King: Canadian Missionaries and the Chinese Labour Corps in World War I" in *China Insight*, p. 45.

<sup>207</sup> See Mitchell, "The Missionary Connection."

<sup>208</sup> Gewurtz, p. 35. From 32 Canadian missionaries in 1916, the number had fallen to 14 in 1918.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., p. 34. "The call of patriotism and the conflict between religious vocation and the duty toward King and country so eloquently put forth by Mackenzie lay at the heart of the matter."

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>211</sup> During World War One, the British also used Indians. Québec missionaries were also involved in India. In 1914, Juliette Pelletier-Ramsay resigned from the Montréal General Hospital to volunteer in the Canadian army. After serving in Europe during the war, the demobilized nurse traveled to Japan, China and then India to reach her future husband George Arthur Stuart Ramsay. Upon her return to Montréal, she founded the Overseas Nursing Sisters. See Pierre Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés: L'histoire inédite des militaires canadiens-français de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, Tome II (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1997), pp. 390-391.

was opened in Jinan to assure the return home of Chinese labourers in China.<sup>212</sup> About 100,000 Chinese departed from Shandong during the war, about 80% of whom passed through Québec. Bonaventure Pélouin wrote:

À titres d'alliés, les Chinois furent donc invités par les généraux d'Europe, à fournir, eux aussi, leur nombre d'opposants. Ils répondirent assez volontiers, moyennant 30 dollars par mois par individu, dont 15 devaient être retenus en Europe, pour ses menues dépenses, et 15 pouvaient être envoyés en Chine, pour le soutien de sa famille. De ces Chinois ainsi mobilisés, il en est passé environ 800 000 (sic) sur nos grands trains, allant de Vancouver à Halifax. On ne pouvait les conduire directement par le canal de Suez, la voie méditerranéenne étant trop dangereuse. Comme ces Chinois n'étaient pas du tout dressés à l'action militaire, on les garda à l'arrière, pour les travaux de ponts, de chaussées, de voies ferrées, de transport de matériaux et munitions. Et comme tels, ils firent très bien, dit-on. Après la guerre, on aurait pu s'attendre pour eux, de la part des Européens, si non à un traitement de faveur, du moins à des considérations d'égalité: l'équité et la reconnaissance le demandaient. Il n'en fut rien.<sup>213</sup>

The passage of 80,000 Chinese through Montréal during World War One was kept secret for security reasons in wartime and in order to avoid panic among the Montréal population.<sup>214</sup> The Bureau of Censorship exerted its war power over the Canadian press to

---

<sup>212</sup> Gewurtz, pp. 47-48. Percy joined Gillies Eadie in the reconstruction of China. Eadie worked at the War Emigration Agency in Qingdao, Shandong from 1917 to 1920. Chinese labourers who went to Europe were severely treated, but they acquired a worthy experience. For many young Chinese labourers, the presence of missionaries meant a step toward literacy. Many labourers returned to China with money and perhaps most important, the ability to read.

<sup>213</sup> Bonaventure Pélouin, *Peuples orientaux et peuples occidentaux: relations et conflits* (Québec: [s.n.], 1929), p. 20. Pélouin wrote that 800,000, not 80,000 crossed to Europe via Canada. Is it a typo or an exaggeration by Pélouin? I don't know. Let's consider Margo Gewurtz and Peter Mitchell studies as the authority in the estimation of numbers for CLC.

<sup>214</sup> Peter M. Mitchell, "Canada and the Chinese Labour Corps 1917-1920: The Official Connection" in *China Insight*, Chen Min-sun & Lawrence N. Shyu ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Asian Studies Association Carleton University, 1985), p. 12. Some of Chinese laborers left by ship to Europe from Québec City, Halifax, and New York. Mitchell points out a rare story of Chinese crossing through Québec on their way to New York. Otherwise, the crossing of the Chinese passed unnoticed. Mitchell says (p. 7) that "the CLC finds not a single mention in standard studies of the Canadian war effort. The CLC became a symbol of China's emerging participation in the modern, "progressive" international world."

keep the story out of Canadian newspapers. Upon their arrival in Montréal, the Chinese were channeled secretly to the port where ships awaited to transport them to France. Only government officials, the military, the police, some missionaries and a few Québec officials were aware of the arrival and departure of Chinese in Montréal.

The influenza epidemic of March 1918 in Montréal encouraged the establishment of the Montréal Chinese Hospital.<sup>215</sup> At the time, medical services and the arrival of immigrants in Québec were the responsibility of the clergy. A nun, preoccupied with the health of Montréal's Chinese community, called on MIC to assist the Chinese community of Montréal. MIC presented to the Montréal municipal government plans to open nursing facilities to prevent the spread of cholera which had already afflicted thousands in the city.<sup>216</sup> As mentioned earlier, the involvement of MIC in China dates back in 1909, but its work among the Chinese in Québec began early in 1915. MIC had opened a school for Chinese children in Montréal's Chinatown;<sup>217</sup> a year later, they were teaching French and English to adult Chinese at the Académie Commerciale du Plateau on Sainte-Catherine

---

<sup>215</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire*, p. 325. "C'est en 1918, à l'occasion de la terrible épidémie de l'influenza, que s'ouvrit un modeste hôpital temporaire destiné à recevoir les Chinois malades. Ouverture officielle le 8 mars 1920."

<sup>216</sup> Ho Kwong-ming, "The Montreal Chinese Hospital 1918-1982: a Case Study of an Ethnic Institution." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1984, p. 51. The MIC presented "the municipal government with a plan to organize a first aid station (there) for the Chinese community during the epidemic."

<sup>217</sup> *Le Précurseur*, no. 6 July 1921, p. 200. "Les cours de langues et d'instruction religieuses pour Chinois adultes seront donnés chaque dimanche après-midi, de deux à trois heures et demie, dans l'Académie du Plateau, 85 ouest, rue Sainte-Catherine, par des professeurs compétents et très zélés. Leçon de messe chinoise par une religieuse le dimanche. Les enfants chinois ont leur école au 404, rue St-Urbain. Cet établissement sous le contrôle de la Commission Scolaire de Montréal, offre aux enfants, qui le fréquentent des leçons de chinois, de français, d'anglais et de musique."



street.<sup>218</sup> With the transit of 80,000 Chinese through Montréal during the war, no chances could be taken in case of an epidemic. The work of MIC among the Chinese in Montréal was a natural continuation of its work with the Chinese both abroad and at home.<sup>219</sup> MIC and the Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie<sup>220</sup> were the most experienced Québec missionary organizations to deal with the Chinese. These missionary organizations were already versed in nursing and medicare, it is not surprising to see that governments (Montréal, Québec and Canada) were grateful to MIC for opening a hospital for the Chinese in Montréal.<sup>221</sup> Present at the opening of the Hospital<sup>222</sup> were representatives of the Canadian government, the Chinese vice-consul of Ottawa, Mgr Bruchési and representatives from MIC. The Chinese vice-consul said that the hospital needed all the best care and attention.<sup>223</sup> In 1920 the hospital received the visit of Sieur de Guébriant of

---

<sup>218</sup> Henri Bourassa, p. 145. A dozen Sisters gave classes to Chinese adults.

<sup>219</sup> *Le Précurseur*, no. 11, October, 1922, p. 392. A center was also founded on Sainte-Julie Street in Québec City in November 1919. Afterwards it was located at 4 rue Simard after April 1921. "Une vingtaine d'adultes chinois viennent suivre les cours. Leurs professeurs sont des élèves de la classe de Philosophie du Séminaire, de l'École Normale Laval, auxquels se joignent deux laïques. M. chanoine J. Gignac, du Séminaire canadien des Missions-Étrangères, officie le Salut..."

<sup>220</sup> Groulx, p. 105. "En Chine elles ont possédés un moment 54 maisons dont 3 au Mandchoukuo."

<sup>221</sup> Ho Kwong-ming, p. 52. The Chinese community would raise \$2,000 to buy the building at 112 De La Gauchetière West, the new headquarters of the hospital

<sup>222</sup> *Le Précurseur*, no. 8 January 1922, p. 293. The hospital was located at 76 De la Gauchetière West.

<sup>223</sup> *Le Précurseur*, no. 3, December 1920, p. 97. "Visite de Monseigneur J. -B. Budes de Guébriant, Visiteur apostolique de la Chine. Arrivée à Montréal le 2 octobre 1920." (p. 98) "À son tour, Monsieur le Vice-Consul de Chine adressa la parole et termina par ces mots remarquables: «Cet hôpital est comme un enfant, des dangers l'environnent; mais je sens qu'avec la Société catholique nous ne tomberons pas.»" (p. 101) "La cérémonie de Vêture de la première vierge chinoise acceptée au Noviciat des MIC le 6 octobre. Le Vice-Consul de Chine, d'Ottawa, avait tenu à venir représenter la famille de la nouvelle novice: avec M. Président de la Société de Bienfaisance chinoise, il occupait un prie-Dieu d'honneur dans la chapelle." (p. 102) "Le 12 octobre 1920, visite de Monseigneur Demange évêque de Taïkou, Mission coréenne. Le 18 octobre, visite du RP Gustave Deswazières, supérieur des la léproserie de Shek-Lung, qui vient au Canada demander des aumônes pour effectuer la translation de cette léproserie."

Canton,<sup>224</sup> who wished to establish the Séminaire de Paris in Montréal to gather volunteers for China after World War One. Sieur de Guébriant had two goals while visiting Montréal: to visit the MIC and to open a branch office of the Séminaire de Paris. Mgr Bruchési of Montréal refused the latter, preferring to establish the Séminaire canadien des Mission-Étrangères in late 1920.<sup>225</sup>

At the end of World War One the Chinese were flabbergasted by the attitudes of the Allies (including Canada) towards China. For the first time, Canada signed an international treaty, the Treaty of Versailles (1919), as an independent country. The Chinese saw the Treaty of Versailles as treachery by the West; the Chinese refused to sign, although they were part of the victorious Allied side. The Chinese saw the transfer of Shandong province to the Japanese as a betrayal of China by the Western nations, including Canada.<sup>226</sup> Canadian history books mention the Treaty of Versailles as a victory for Canada because it represents the maturing of Canada on the world scene. However, no books mention the reaction of the Chinese to the Canadian signing of the Treaty.<sup>227</sup> The Treaty of Versailles increased the power of Japan in the Pacific and gave it a greater role in Chinese affairs. Japan's subsequent inclination to imperialism awakened the nationalist

---

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99. "Dans la soirée, M. Guébriant s'adressa à huit cents séminaristes et élèves des maisons de théologie et de philosophie ainsi qu'à ceux du Collège de Montréal."

<sup>225</sup> *Braise et Encens*, p. 71.

<sup>226</sup> A secret agreement between Japan, France and England (1915) promised the transfer of German rights in Shandong to Japan once the war would have ended.

<sup>227</sup> The Chinese reaction to the Versailles Treaty was disbelief. A Chinese delegate to the Peace Conference, M. Scie Ton-fa (sic) explained to Quebecers in *La Presse* (11<sup>th</sup> June, 1919) "Je sais qu'en vous parlant de notre situation je m'adresse au représentant d'une race qui a des conceptions de liberté et de démocratie..."

movements of Asia. In the spring of 1919 Koreans living in Manchuria also revolted against Japanese colonialism<sup>228</sup> and the Chinese, as we will see, expressed their resentment of the West. Canada urged England to abandon the Japanese alliance and promoted the involvement of the United States in Pacific affairs. The post-war period was clearly to the advantage of Japan because the Anglo-Japanese alliance suited its imperialistic goals. The alliance had shown the limitations of Canadian sovereignty during conflicts.<sup>229</sup> The signature of the Treaty of Versailles reflected either the inability or the unwillingness of the West to prevent Japanese imperialism. Chinese resentment over the Treaty of Versailles triggered the May Fourth movement (1919) in China; it also encouraged Chinese students to seek models other than Western democracy as ways to revive China.

Québec missionaries in China saw the May Fourth Movement as a radical and patriotic movement.<sup>230</sup> The rise of this movement in China was initially a nationalist reaction to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles: German rights in the Chinese province of Shandong were given to the Japanese, an insult to increasingly nationalist Chinese who

---

<sup>228</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 31. "Canadian missionaries in Korea were among the most vociferous of the foreign missionary community in their protests at the brutality of the Japanese military toward innocent Koreans at the time of the Independence Movement demonstrations [1919]." p. 58. "Christian Koreans had been closely identified with the Independence Movement of 1 March 1919."

<sup>229</sup> Woodworth, p. 173. "Finally it may be noted that for reasons of its own Quebec, too, disapproved of the [Anglo-Japanese] alliance. A sample of this was the attitude of Mr. Herman Deslauriers (member of Montréal St. Mary's) toward a possible Japanese attack on Australia." p. 175. "As early as February 14, 1921, the Meighen government had communicated to the British Government its belief that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should not be renewed and hinted that the USA could protect the Pacific."

<sup>230</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year, August 1927, pp. 144-145. "Le mouvement actuel en Chine -je ne vois pas comment il serait possible de le nier- est une poussée nationaliste. Prétendre l'expliquer en le traitant purement et simplement de xénophobie ne serait ni juste ni sage [...]"

had collaborated with the Allies at the end of the War.<sup>231</sup> Chinese students were outraged to see their government unable to protect the honor of the motherland. In general, Québec missionaries in China saw the May Fourth Movement as dangerous but legitimate considering the outcome of the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>232</sup> The *Annales Missionnaires Franciscaines de Marie* published a letter from Mère Marie de Saint-Anselme, which stressed that notwithstanding their idealism, the returned Chinese students who flirted with socialism and materialistic philosophies were counter-productive for the saving of China.

Les étudiants sont forts agités, ils ont juré de ne pas prendre de repos, tant que le Chan-tong, la terre sacrée de Chine, ne leur sera pas rendue. [...] Les étudiantes s'en mêlent aussi car nous avons des écoles normales d'institutrices où l'on pousse beaucoup les études. Le 10 octobre dernier, anniversaire de la proclamation de la République, ils ont répandu par milliers des appels à la révolution contre le gouvernement, incapable de soutenir l'honneur et les droit du Céleste-Empire. [...] Ces jeunes gens qui, pour la plupart maintenant, ont été en Europe, se croient capables de refaire une Chine modernisée; mais derrière ces milliers de jeunes Chinois transformés, il y a la masse, des millions d'êtres qui n'ont rien changé de leurs habitudes, de leur préjugés, de leur paganisme. On peut bien les agiter, créer dans les provinces la révolution, la guerre civile, le pillage; mais organiser une nouvelle Chine est une toute autre chose, et jusqu'ici aucun des grands hommes qui se sont succédés à la tête de la République n'a réussi.<sup>233</sup>

---

<sup>231</sup> The Washington Conference (1921-1922) would finally grant China full rights over Shandong. Montreal Chinese Student Association, *The Sino-Japanese Conflict*, S. Kwauk ed. assisted by W. H. Fong (Montréal: [n.p.], 1962), p. 30.

<sup>232</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year, August 1927, pp. 144-145. "Mais, en définitive, ce que l'on veut arracher à l'étranger, c'est une hégémonie qui depuis longtemps, est un fait, mais qui n'est pas pour autant, devenu un droit. Or, cela est légitime. Un grand peuple n'a pas tort de vouloir être libre et respecté, maître chez lui, traitant d'égal à égal avec les autres et profitant le premier de ses propres richesses. Cette aspiration n'est vraiment consciente que depuis un petit nombre d'années, mettons une génération. Elle s'est fait jour d'abord chez la jeunesse étudiante, lorsqu'elle a vu se dissiper l'illusion millénaire qui confondait dans l'esprit des lettrés la Chine avec le monde, le monde avec la Chine."

<sup>233</sup> *Annales Missionnaires des Franciscaines de Marie*, 30<sup>th</sup> year, September 1920, p. 258. Letter written in November 1919 by Mère Marie de Saint-Anselme to Mère Déléguée Générale in Beijing.

The *Messenger Canadien du Sacré-Coeur* regarded the new student activism in China as much more dangerous than a break with monarchy.<sup>234</sup> When Marxist revolutionaries appeared in Chinese cities, they were described as agents for contamination of the Chinese soul. China was turning to Bolshevik ideas that emanated from Western countries.<sup>235</sup> Furthermore, traditional Chinese civilization had been based on humanism (Confucianism) rather than religious precepts. At a time of increasing Chinese exasperation with the West, few Québec missionaries remained optimistic:

In Honan, Arthur Lockheed in a private letter to Dr Leslie's brother in Montréal, described the "great patriotic movement that swept over the Government and Christian schools this spring." He called it "a very hopeful sign" and said that Christianity "must identify itself with a wise and temperate and fervent patriotism if it is to take a deep hold on young educated China."<sup>236</sup> While some administrators of Christian schools shared Lockheed's initial enthusiasm for the movement, the general missionary reaction was hostile and grew increasingly so as the student movement continued to disrupt classes.<sup>237</sup>

The MIC journal *Le Précurseur* published an evaluation of a Protestant missionary who warned that a new culture movement was reevaluating the social ethic of Chinese society.

---

<sup>234</sup> L. Boncompain, "La conversion en Chine" in *Le Messenger Canadien du Sacré-Coeur*, vol. XXXII, no. 9, September 1923, p. 387. "La révolution intellectuelle qu'ils préparent [Chinese students] sera autrement profonde que la révolution politique déclanchée par leurs précurseurs."

<sup>235</sup> Eusèbe Meunier, "L'Église Catholique en face de la Chine actuelle" in *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 2, no. 2, March-April 1924, p. 75. "La Chine [...] cherche cette solution de préférence dans les pays et chez les auteurs athées et matérialistes. Il n'est pas jusqu'aux doctrines bolchévistes de Russie, qui ne se propagent avec une rapidité étonnante, et, jusqu'à un certain degré, dans les écoles du gouvernement..."

<sup>236</sup> *Presbyterian Record*, December 1919.

<sup>237</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 50.

Le Dr. John Mott, appelé le Napoléon des missions protestantes, au cours d'un récent voyage en Chine, a constaté de son côté, un réveil et un travail dans les esprits qui l'ont profondément surpris: "Un nouveau courant de pensée, écrit-il, apparaît parmi les professeurs et les étudiants en Chine. Ils sont occupés par tout un monde d'idées et d'idéals en lutte les uns contre les autres. L'esprit d'investigation, le désir d'évaluer à nouveau toutes choses se manifeste parmi eux. Il n'y a pas de tradition, de sanction ou de pratiques sociales, du passé et du présent, qui soient assez sacrées, pour n'être pas mise en question, ou mêmes rejetées, si les étudiants et les professeurs ne peuvent prouver qu'elles ont une certaine valeur et pour l'individu et la société." Il paraît au Dr. Mott que la portée de ce mouvement dépasse de beaucoup la Renaissance européenne, si l'on considère le nombre des gens qu'elle atteint et la variété des domaines auxquels elle touche.<sup>238</sup>

Québec women missionaries reported on Chinese feminism and in some case they promoted the emancipation of Chinese women. They regarded the emancipation of women as an important aspect of the creation of the new China. Many movements and Chinese leaders called for an end to footbinding for Chinese women. Québec women missionaries helped to promote and provide education for Chinese women, frequently referring to Chinese women heroes as role models.<sup>239</sup> By their presence on Chinese soil, Québec women missionaries themselves projected the image of modern women to China. They traveled unmarried in China, knew how to read, and were capable of earning a living

---

<sup>238</sup> *Le Précurseur*, Vol. 1 no. 16, September 1923, p. 591.

<sup>239</sup> "La femme chinoise moderne" in *Annales Missionnaires des Franciscaines de Marie*, 30<sup>th</sup> year, December 1920, pp. 354-358. "La femme chinoise reste-t-elle en arrière dans ce mouvement universel? A en croire un assez curieux article d'une doctoresse du Céleste-Empire, il semble qu'elle prétend y entrer résolument... Le premier mouvement de Dr Ida Kahn, l'auteur de l'article, est pour réagir contre l'opinion qui donne la la femme japonaise le premier rang sur sa soeur de Chine. Elle revendique pour sa patrie la gloire d'avoir eu une Jeanne d'Arc, dans la personne de Mou-han [Mulan], qui s'aquit une réputation immortelle en combattant pour son père, et dont la piété filiale et les vertus guerrières ont été célébrées par les poètes et les lettrés de tous les âges. Elle rappelle aussi avec quelle énergie et quel art du gouvernement l'impératrice Tsen-hi [Cixi] régna sur le vaste empire du Milieu et sut s'entourer d'hommes d'État remarquables comme Tchang-Tchi-Tong [Zhang Zhidong, 1837-1909] et Li Hung-Tchang [Li Hongzhang, 1823-1911]."

without men. Their involvement in Chinese education and social services demonstrated that women could play an important public role in a modernized China.<sup>240</sup>

Québec missionary activity in republican China fostered the publication in Québec of magazines with international content. These periodicals were the first attempt to introduce external cultures to Québec, especially cultures from Asia. Because French-language scholarly publications about the Orient were not then available in Québec, missionary periodicals disseminated the first images of the Orient to Quebecers. These missionary publications remained the principal medium to which Quebecers could turn for observations about China. The fact that these were religious periodicals meant that they emphasized the gospel message, but they also examined different fields of humanities: language,<sup>241</sup> ethnology,<sup>242</sup> social services<sup>243</sup> and international relations.<sup>244</sup> Undeniably, the

---

<sup>240</sup> *Annales Missionnaires des Franciscaines de Marie*, 31th year, November 1921, p. 335. "École française à Chengdu. Parlons d'abord de l'ouverture d'une école française pour les dames de la société chinoise. [...] De tout les temps, il a été difficile au catholicisme d'atteindre cette classe de la société, vu les moeurs du pays, confinant la femme chinoise dans son interieur; mais la République a commencé son oeuvre d'émancipation et l'influence française, qui s'étale de plus en plus, surtout depuis la victoire, ouvre largement la porte à la civilisation européenne."

<sup>241</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 325. "C'est en 1913 que les MIC commencèrent à s'occuper de l'Oeuvre chinoise de Montréal. Pendant trois ans, deux religieuses se rendaient chaque dimanche dans un local désigné où plus de cent élèves se trouvaient parfois réunis." The MIC gave French and English classes to the Chinese in Montréal and China.

<sup>242</sup> Mahomey, p. 67. "Avant la fin de 1924, la communauté avait aussi accepté la formation de quatre jeunes filles Hakka âgées de 28, 20 17 et 14 ans, qui désiraient devenir religieuse. [...] Les Hakka étaient des Chinois qui habitaient le territoire au nord-ouest de Swatow. Les soeurs trouvaient leur dialecte plus facile à comprendre; les gens eux-mêmes semblaient réceptifs au message chrétien. Soeur Saint-Joseph leur enseignaient le français, ce dont l'évêque était enchanté." The Ursulines became involved with the Hakka minority in Fujian. This minority was relatively famous in nineteenth century China. Hong Qiuquan was a Hakka who believed that he was the step-brother of Jesus. Hong became acquainted with Christianity by meeting missionaries. Unsatisfied with his life, Hong began raising militias, which would become the notorious Taiping army. The Taiping would become the most serious threat to overthrow the Qing dynasty. From 1850 to 1864, the Taiping established their rule in Southern China, their capital was Nanjing. The Taiping would leave China in blood, havoc and on the verge of economic collapse. The fact that Hong used Christianity did not leave a good name for the religion in the hearts of Chinese officials. Other Chinese minorities that got the attention of Québec missionaries were the Miao and Yao (lolo) of Guizhou province.

work of missionaries in China and their journals generated interest in China among many Quebecers. Québec missionaries believed that their periodicals could also serve to combat ideologies such as the communism emerging in China.

During World War One the publication of the French missionary periodical *Annales des Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* was transferred to Québec. After four years of inactivity, the *Annales Franciscaines Missionnaires* informed its readers that it was resuming publication from the "New World."<sup>245</sup> This monthly magazine provided the first glimpse of China to French-speaking Québec, promoting better understanding of and interest in China. The *Annales* contained primarily content from France, with some additional material from Québec Franciscans.

In 1920 MIC also began publishing a journal focused on its missions abroad, creating Québec's first French-language magazine of international content focusing on

---

"La soumission des lolos," in *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 42th year, November 1928, pp. 201-205.

<sup>243</sup> The list of hospitals, leprosy centers, and orphanages would be too long to enumerate.

<sup>244</sup> Numerous missionaries who contributed to the periodicals went on to publish books such as: Bonaventure Péloquin, *Peuples orientaux et peuples occidentaux: relations et conflits* (Québec: [s.n.], 1929); Urbain-Marie Cloutier, *Le Conflit sino-japonais* (Québec: [s.n.] 1938); Jean Ho, *Le triple demisme* and *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste* (Montréal: Édition de la Ligue anti-communiste, 1949); and Léo Paul Bourassa, *Tactiques communistes contre l'Église: l'expérience chinoise* (Montréal: Éditions de l'Heure, 1962).

<sup>245</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, September 1918, p. 6. "Chers Lecteurs français, nous revenons à vous cependant; mais c'est du Nouveau Monde. Un grand lien de fraternité a uni, dès le début, les plages du Canada et celles de France, et notre imprimerie de Québec vient de se mettre à notre disposition pour ressusciter notre publication, qui viendra donc encore vous parler des Missions et du terrible contrecoup de la guerre dans nos oeuvres lointaines." The content of the journal was primarily French. However, Québec Franciscans made some texts. The Canadian copy of the magazine would appear in September 1929. From then on, the *Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* made all printing, composition, typography, and layouts.



China. *Le Précurseur* was indeed a precursor; the journal was composed and printed by the MIC Sisters of Outremont.<sup>246</sup> These women were the first Québec-based group that tried to explain China to Québec's Catholic public. Not surprisingly, the cover picture of the first edition featured China.<sup>247</sup> MIC's opening editorial announced that it was pressured by Québec public demand to publish a missionary magazine about China. *Le Précurseur* received encouragement from Archbishop Bruchési of Montréal and Bishop of Canton Monseigneur de Guébriant. MIC began publishing *Le Précurseur* in May 1920, exactly a year after the May Fourth Movement. An anonymous MIC missionary, suggesting that the publication of the magazine was a means to combat materialism and heretics in China, wrote the first story published by *Le Précurseur*.

En Chine surtout, les idées amenées par le renversement de la monarchie, donnent aux prédicateurs de l'Évangile les plus douces espérances. Mais, hélas! les Chinois, disposés à recevoir des lumières nouvelles, n'ont plus souvent que celles que leur apportent les ministres de l'erreur; les missionnaires catholiques, trop rares, ne peuvent accomplir dans une assez large mesure la part de bien qui s'offre à leur zèle.<sup>248</sup>

*Les Missions Franciscaines* also began publishing its journal about China in the early 1920s. Bonaventure Péloquin, back in Québec from China in 1921, started his

---

<sup>246</sup> *Le Précurseur*, May 1920, p. 5. *Le Précurseur* began publishing in May 1920. Only rare copies of the first three years of the journal subsist. Both Alvin Austin and Jacques Langlais mention that the periodical began in 1923.

<sup>247</sup> Aside from biographies, all the photographs of the first two years of *Le Précurseur* featured China.

<sup>248</sup> *Le Précurseur*, May 1920, vol. 1. No. 1, "De Montréal à Canton. Notes de voyage d'une Soeur Missionnaire de l'Immaculée-Conception" pp. 15-24. The letter is dated 15<sup>th</sup> June 1919, one month after the May Fourth Movement. Sisters usually signed anonymously as a proof of humility. See also Henri Bourassa, p. 121.

promotion of Québec missionary involvement in the Orient. As mentioned earlier, he published his book *Débuts d'un missionnaire* upon arrival and began a press campaign to promote missionary work in China. He was responsible for the appearance of the periodical *Les Missions Franciscaines* that began publishing in 1923 from Sorel.<sup>249</sup> Once again, this magazine published primarily reports from China and also some from Japan. The opening editorial stressed that the goal of the periodical was to support the Franciscan missionary effort in China.<sup>250</sup>

Québec Protestant missionary efforts to promote missionary work in China paid off as numerous candidates departed for or returned from the Orient. Among Protestants, Dr. Percy Leslie regained his position in the North Henan in 1920,<sup>251</sup> while Dr. William McClure began teaching at Cheloo University of Jinan.<sup>252</sup> In the same year, Mary Letitia Lamb (1879-1960) arrived in Chongqing. Lamb was matron of the Canadian Boarding School in the West China Mission.<sup>253</sup> Protestant involvement in China reached its peak in 1926 with 8,235 missionaries.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>249</sup> Coiteux, pp. 91-92. "Le Père Bonaventure Péloquin responsable du trimestriel *Les Missions Franciscaines*. Dès son retour en sept. 1921, il a commencé de promouvoir la cause des Missions par une campagne de presse dans les journaux, par des conférences dans les maisons d'éducation et dans les paroisses, par la publication de volumes comme «Les débuts d'un missionnaire» écrit par lui-même et «Propos japonais» écrit par un confrère du Japon le P. Urbain Cloutier."

<sup>250</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 1, no. 1, January-February-March 1923, p. 7. "Vers la fin de l'année 1919, un pieux et zélé missionnaire de Chine, écrivant au Directeur du Bulletin de Pékin, lui suggérait l'opportunité d'un nouveau Bulletin dont le but spécial serait d'alimenter la vie intérieur des Missionnaires."

<sup>251</sup> Gewurtz, pp. 44-47.

<sup>252</sup> Scott, p. 61. Bruce Copland of Montréal would also join the Henan mission in the 1920s where he was the hospital business administrator. Copland would meet Marnie Lohead of Montréal in China and marry.

<sup>253</sup> See Deborah Shulman, "From the Pages of Three Ladies: Canadian Women Missionaries in Republican China," M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1996. Lamb also taught English and geography in Shanghai when she was evacuated during the Northern Expedition and the anti-foreign wave in China.

Québec Catholic missionaries began flocking to China after World War One. By the end of 1920, the MIC had consolidated its presence in China by sending nearly twenty missionaries to China.<sup>255</sup> The Ursulines initiated their Swatow mission in 1922 under the patronage of Sisters Marie Rosaire, Audet Marie de Ste-Croix Davis, and Marie de l'Incarnation Guay.<sup>256</sup> A few years later, the Ursulines opened additional missions on the Guangdong-Fujian border.<sup>257</sup> The Notre-Dame des Anges congregation sent missionaries to Guiyang (Guizhou province),<sup>258</sup> Lanlong,<sup>259</sup> Nanning (Guangxi),<sup>260</sup> Hong Kong,<sup>261</sup> Canton, and the Portuguese colony of Macao.<sup>262</sup> Seven missionaries from the Adoratrices

---

<sup>254</sup> Frederick Stockwell, *Religion in China Today* (Beijing: New World Press, 1993), p. 195.

<sup>255</sup> *Le Précurseur*, no. 4, January 1921, p. 121. In September 1920, 16 MIC were at work in China, by far the largest Québec missionary group involved at the time.

<sup>256</sup> Mahomey, p. 7.

<sup>257</sup> Mahomey, p.53. More specifically in Chaozhou-fu and Hopo.

<sup>258</sup> The Guizhou mission was a jewel of a mission for Québec's Franciscans. The *Missions Franciscaines* called Guizhou their "New Canada" and described the Miao tribe as the equivalent of the Montagnais and the Huron as the Yi minority. "Le Kouy tchéou, Nouveau Canada" in *Les Missions Franciscaines*. vol. 1, no. 3, July-August-September 1923, p. 138.

<sup>259</sup> Gervais, p. 89. The Notre-Dame des Anges sent Sisters St-Alphonse et Marie-Céline in Kweih sien while Sister Saint-Michel-Archange departed in 1922 to Lanlong. "Elle mourut sans revoir le Canada, en janvier 1951. C'est elle qui ouvrit, en 1936, la maison des Soeurs Missionnaires à Anshin ou Lang-lon."

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., pp. 85-86. Notre-Dame des Anges opened a mission in Nanning, Gaungxi. "Les Soeurs Sainte-Élisabeth de Hongrie, supérieure, Marguerite-Marie, Saint-Antoine de Padoue et Saint-Stanislas de Kostha [sic], qui avaient quitté le Canada le 6 octobre 1926, avec leurs compagnes de Hong-Kong, arrivèrent à Nanning le 28 novembre de la même année [1926]."

<sup>261</sup> Ibid, p. 95. "Mère fondatrice décida alors de se rendre elle-même sur les lieux et voir ce qu'il y aurait à faire. Elle partit, en août 1927, pour Hong-Kong, accompagnée des Soeurs Saint-Jean et Sainte-Julienne."

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, p. 116. The veteran of the Notre-Dame des Anges in Macao was S. Sainte-Rosalie (Odile Choquette) of North Hatley. She stayed fifteen years in China arriving in 1924. She became Supérieure de Shiu-Hing [Macao]. Among the other departures was Soeur St-Paul-Marie who stayed in China between 1926 and 1940. She became the archivist of the French magazine *En Chine*.

du Précieux-Sang of Saint-Hyacinthe joined missionary work in China in 1924 in Sienhsien (today Baoding).<sup>263</sup> In 1920 the Jesuits sent Édouard Côté, Auguste Gagnon, and Georges Marin<sup>264</sup> to Zikawei (Shanghai) for training before being sent to missions in Jiangsu province.<sup>265</sup> Québec Franciscans continued to send missionaries to China with Father Hilaire Gamache arriving in Shandong in May 1921.<sup>266</sup> Québec Franciscans received their Chinese training at the monastery Notre-Dame de la Consolation near Beijing.<sup>267</sup> The Franciscan sisters sent Sister Émeraude Cossette to Tibet<sup>268</sup> among the other 35 sisters already involved in China.<sup>269</sup> Finally, three new congregations of Québec

---

<sup>263</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 2, no. 2, July-August 1924, pp. 160-161. The Adoratrices du Précieux Sang also composed songs and poems dedicated to China. "Mes Soeurs, ne nous plaignez jamais, Sienhsien a pour nous tant d'attraits! Qu'importe le martyre, quand l'âme le désire... Au ciel donc par la croix, Pour l'amour des Chinois!"

<sup>264</sup> Father Marin founded the Chabanel school in Beijing where missionaries arriving from Québec stayed for a few years before heading to missions. *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 101. "[In 1937], P. Marin (Jésuite) inaugura à Peking la maison Chabanel pour l'étude de la langue chinoise (tous les missionnaires séjournent deux ans avant de faire du terrain)."

<sup>265</sup> Langlais, p. 58. Renaud, *Süchow, diocèse de Chine*, p. 14. Marin taught mathematics, physics, and French at l'Université Aurore (Shanghai). In Xuzhou, the Jesuits opened a college where Chinese students could assist to French classes. English classes would be added in 1928. Antonio Dragon, *En mission parmi les Rouges*, Montréal: Le Messager Canadien, 1946, p. 40. "En 1916, le collège (Xuzhou) inaugura les cours de langue française, dont la connaissance était alors requise dans les emplois publics. On commença en 1928 les cours d'anglais."

<sup>266</sup> Coiteux, p. 84.

<sup>267</sup> Clovis Rondeau, *L'évangélisation de la Chine* (Pont-Viau: Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, 1928), p. 28. "Le Pape [Pius X] faisait référence au "grand monastère des Trappistes de Notre-Dame de la Consolation, près de Pékin." Rondeau refers to *Le Devoir*, February 22th, 1927 that "rappelait avec une légitime fierté la fondation de ce monastère, oeuvre d'un Canadien, le P. Constant (Joseph Forest)."

<sup>268</sup> The Tibet mission (today Northwest Sichuan) was also politically very instable. *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 47<sup>th</sup> year January 1933, p. 32. "Le général Ma était musulman et personnellement peu ami de la Mission."

<sup>269</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 2, no. 4, July-August 1924, p. 177.

missionaries also initiated their involvement in China during the early 1920s: the Carmélites,<sup>270</sup> the Petites Soeurs des Pauvres, and the Cisterciens.<sup>271</sup>

Québec Jesuits consolidated their presence in Xuzhou in northern Jiangsu. For Québec Jesuit missionaries, Zikawei (Shanghai) was a privileged place to study the Chinese language and to improve their knowledge of China before heading towards their mission. Armand Proulx<sup>272</sup> was appointed French Professor at the prestigious Shanghai Aurore University which enrolled about 500 students. Proulx studied Chinese with Father Germain, future Rector of Aurore University and Father Gauthier, who became Chancellor of the University.<sup>273</sup>

In 1921 the newly established Missions-Étrangères in Québec began to prepare prospectives Québec missionaries for China.<sup>274</sup> The first three missionaries of the Société

---

<sup>270</sup> Carmélite Stella Duguay left for Shanghai in October 1921 and stayed there for three years. She would return in China in 1926 and stay there until forced into exile in 1955. Unpublished paper handed to the author (May first 2001) by Soeur Gagnon of the Carmélites Congrégation in Montréal.

<sup>271</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 1, no. 2, April-May 1923, p. 84.

<sup>272</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 18.

<sup>273</sup> Armand Proulx, *Mon T'ang-li* (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1958), p. 10. "À la fin de 1924, l'école de langue chinoise de Pékin, placée sous la protection de saint Noël Chabanel (qui, au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, malgré de prodigieux efforts, n'avait jamais réussi à maîtriser l'iroquois) n'existait que dans le domaine du possible. C'est donc à Shanghai, à l'une de nos résidences, [...] que l'on nous enseignait le chinois." Among the students with Proulx were French Jesuits: "le P. Germain, plus tard Recteur de l'Université de l'Aurore, et le P. Gauthier, futur Chancelier." (p. 12) "Au collège, qui compte environ cinq cents étudiants, dont la moitié sont païens, je fus nommé professeur de français et surveillant." Proulx was a missionary in China from 1924 to 1955. Proulx was accompanied to China by Joseph-Louis-Lavoie (see page 34) and Léon Aza Soulligny. Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 18.

<sup>274</sup> *Union Missionnaire du Clergé*, p. 130.

des Missions-Étrangères landed in Manchuria and Inner-Mongolia in 1925.<sup>275</sup> Among the group was Louis-Adelar Lapierre,<sup>276</sup> the first volunteer of the Société des Missions-Étrangères and Clovis Rondeau, author of the 1928 book *L'évangilisation de la Chine*.<sup>277</sup>

The main organization used by Québec Catholic missionaries in China was the Sainte-Enfance. As mentioned earlier, the foundation of the Sainte-Enfance included a network of Québec schools aimed at “saving” China. Numerous campaigns were launched in Québec to help the Sainte-Enfance save young Chinese from paganism.<sup>278</sup> The organization was present in many Québec schools; and it contributed to the knowledge of China in Québec.<sup>279</sup> In the early 1940s the Sainte-Enfance reached its apex as almost all Catholic schools were involved in gathering money for Québec missions in China. More

---

<sup>275</sup> See footnote 267. The introduction of the book announces that “Déjà les pères Canadiens se sont établis dans la grande ville de Taonan, et deux d'entre eux ont pris la direction des districts de Fakou et de Lichousien. Tous travaillent avec ardeur à parfaire leur formation apostolique. Ils sont déjà dix en mission, et ils attendent pour cet automne deux nouveaux confrères et des religieuses Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception de Montréal. [...] Les missionnaires canadiens avaient reçu en partage, au Vicariat apostolique de Jéhol, Mongolie, deux autres districts: Liao Yuan et Kangping. Liao Yuan eut comme titulaire le Père Lapierre, supérieur. Assisté du Père Lomme; Kangping, le Père Forcier, assisté d'un prêtre chinois. [...] Deux nouveaux districts: Hwaite sous la direction des PP. Paradis et Quenneville. Le second, Tounng Lao, est une création nouvelle.”

<sup>276</sup> Lapierre recalls his travel Montréal-Manchuria in *Le Précurseur*, vol. 3, no. 8, May-June 1926, pp. 428-431. Groulx, p. 114. “Les premiers d'entre eux arrivent à leur poste en octobre 1925 [including Mgr Louis-Adelar Lapierre], un des fondateurs de la Société québécoise des Missions-Étrangères. En 1930, il devient préfet apostolique de Szepinghai.”

<sup>277</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 3, no. 2, March-April 1927, p. 73.

<sup>278</sup> Antoine Bernard, pp. 181-182. About the Sainte-Enfance: “Oeuvre humanitaire et apostolique, qui vise au rachat, au baptême, à l'éducation chrétienne des malheureuses petites victimes de l'égoïsme, de la corruption, de la cruauté chinoise.”

<sup>279</sup> Campaigns included the sale of calendars, post-cards, and stamp donations. In 1937, the Jesuits alone claimed they had receive more than 600 *pounds* (280 kg) of stamps for the missions of China. *Le Brigand*, no. 46, February 1937. As noted earlier, many studies (legends, history, sociology, ethnology, geography, theology and politics) were published in missionary periodicals.

than a million dollars was raised from 1917 to 1941.<sup>280</sup> The Sainte-Enfance was a vast organization using a worldwide network to gather funds for missions. Per capita, Québec became the most generous donor to the Sainte-Enfance worldwide.<sup>281</sup> As noted earlier, the Sainte-Enfance was introduced to Québec in the mid-nineteenth century and it penetrated Québec's school system both in cities and in rural areas. Here is a brief description of how the Sainte-Enfance worked in Québec schools:

Comment organiser l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance dans les Écoles...Son but: Le baptême, le rachat et l'éducation chrétienne des enfants, nés de parents infidèles, que la misère, la superstition ou la barbarie détruisent par milliers en pays païens; Secondement, de préparer un moyen puissant de régénérer les nations idolâtres...par l'enseignement de la doctrine catholique, des instruments de salut, comme maîtres et maîtresses d'école, cathéchistes, prêtres, religieux et religieuses indigènes. Son fonctionnement: 12 sous par année (moyenne de 13 sous/an reçus)...après la classe, réunion générale pour le dévoilement du tableau d'honneur de la Sainte-Enfance sur lequel est inscrit, chaque mois, le nom de la classe qui a atteint le meilleur résultat; puis il y a proclamation du travail de chacune des classes, distribution des récompenses, telles que: Annales de la Sainte-Enfance, images, etc...Chaque maître ou maîtresse est libre d'employer les procédés analogues que lui suggère son zèle...L'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance [...] est devenue une Oeuvre pontificale depuis 1926.<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>280</sup> Conseil National de l'Union Missionnaire du Clergé, p. 166. "De 1917 à 1942 au Québec 1 139 240.77 pour la Sainte-Enfance."

<sup>281</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 12, November-December 1945. The numbers consist of Catholics who lived in Canada, predominantly in Québec. In 1945, Canada raised for the Sainte-Enfance 2 321 901 ff while France gave 22 753 667 ff. Per capita, Québec (Canada) became first worldwide for donations to the Sainte-Enfance.

<sup>282</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, pp. 534-536.

The post-war period reflected the urgency with which Québec missionaries in China wanted to combat the growing Marxist movement and followers of materialism.<sup>283</sup> Missionaries felt that China's emerging youth was dismissing religion as a tool of modernization and salvation.<sup>284</sup> Historical materialism needed to be countered by proselytism and the message of God. Taking the successful example of the USSR,<sup>285</sup> Chinese intellectuals were turning to Marxism and acquiring a philosophy capable of rivaling Christian liberal ethics.<sup>286</sup> Québec Jesuit Georges Marin published *La Chine à Dieu*, stressing the need for Québec missionaries to go to China and combat heretic ideologies:

Enfin, la Chine est appelée sans doute à jouer un grand rôle dans l'histoire du monde. Déjà, hélas! le bolchévisme semble vouloir la ronger: l'athéisme., le communisme, le nihilisme et d'autres doctrines perverses ont déjà trouvé de trop nombreux adeptes parmi les étudiants, la classe dirigeante de l'avenir. Si d'ores et déjà on croit voir un péril jaune à l'horizon, que ne sera-t-il pas dans cinquante ans? Ce n'est pas la force des armes qu'on parviendra à l'écarter.<sup>287</sup>

---

<sup>283</sup> Mahomey, p. 95. The author explains that the presence of the communists in China was even put into songs by Québec missionaries: "Que les socialistes laissent la Chine en paix que tous les bolchevistes s'en aillent à jamais." Jesuits saw University students as enemies of faith. They were often accused of spreading materialist ideologies such as communism. See *Le Brigand*, no. 34, December 1935. "nos pires ennemis, les grands étudiants des écoles et de l'Université [Fenghsien]."

<sup>284</sup> Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire*, p. 127. "On voulut faire remarquer que c'était là le signe distinctif des chrétiens: «Votre religion est fausse, fit l'un des soldats». [...] Quel pouvait bien être le sens réel de la parole du soldat "kéming" déchirant la pancarte: «Votre religion est fausse»? [...] La cruauté dont les soldats venaient d'user, tant à l'égard des chrétiens que des païens, ne me donnait que trop raison de douter de ces deux points."

<sup>285</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year, August, 1927, p. 146. "Ce qui est certain, c'est que la formule bolchéviste a fait ses preuves. L'expérience russe est là pour montrer quelle est son efficacité, vraiment souveraine, en matières de traités à répudier et de créances à abolir."

<sup>286</sup> Mahomey, p. 62. "La démonstration de mai 1919 à Pékin, menée par des étudiants...La colère contre les missionnaires occidentaux s'était déjà manifestée sporadiquement: avec l'avènement du marxisme, elle acquit à la fois une base politique et philosophique."

<sup>287</sup> Georges Marin, *La Chine à Dieu: une mission canadienne, le Siu-Tcheou-Fou* (Montréal: Procure de la Mission de Chine, 1925), p. 32.



The establishment of the CCP in 1921 provided a great adversary for Québec Catholic missionaries.<sup>288</sup> Québec missionaries perceived the Chinese communists to be agents of materialism, a philosophy capable of winning the hearts of the pragmatic Chinese to the detriment of the Christian faith. The May Fourth Movement ultimately regrouped modernizers, radicals and reformers who expressed dissatisfaction with warlord politics in China, and to some extent, the western-type of democracies. Beijing University intellectuals and leaders of the May Fourth Movement were the core of the new CCP. From the early 1920's Russian envoys such as Grigori Voitinski, Maring (Henk Sneevliet), Adolf Abramovich Joffe, and Borodin (Mikhail Gruzenberg) traveled to China to establish the CCP. On his arrival in China, Voitinski was directed to contact Chen Duxiu (1873-1942) who was Dean of Arts at Beijing University at the time of the May Fourth Movement and was then in Shanghai, seeking refuge from Beijing repression. Chen Duxiu, together with Hu Shih, published the journal *La Jeunesse*, which presented different political theories such as Marxism and Socialism. The young Mao Zedong (1893-1976) joined this circle of scholars who, like Professor Li Dazhao, defined Chinese Bolshevism. In 1920, a year after the Third International, the Russian contacted Chen Duxiu to set up the CCP. Mao Zedong was appointed responsible for the CCP in Changsha, Hunan. The work of the 57 CCP organizers in different cities of China proved to be quite efficient. Québec missionaries recorded CCP activity in Shaanxi as soon as the

---

<sup>288</sup> Dragon, *En mission*, p. 74. Québec missionary Father Bérubé refers to the Chinese communists as the "bêtes noires des missionnaires catholiques."

spring of 1921.<sup>289</sup> The Comintern agent Borodin subsequently convinced the CCP to join a coalition with the republican GMD to gather strength and experience. This new coalition between the CCP and Sun Yat-sen's GMD was called the first united front (1923-1927) and its goal was the reunification of the country which was still divided among and dominated by warlords.

The inclusion of the communists under the "united front" umbrella of Sun Yat-sen's GMD deepened Québec missionaries' distrust of the republicans. On the advice of Russian experts, Sun Yat-sen accepted the idea of an umbrella organization<sup>290</sup> including the CCP because he wanted to secure a solid base all over the country. The arrival of the communists on the political scene in China complicated the attitude of the church towards the GMD because on top of supporting republican ideals such as the separation of church and state, communism was a symbol of the persecution of the Church. The distrust of Québec missionaries toward the GMD grew during the first united front period because Sun was welcoming revolutionary atheists into government.<sup>291</sup> The Catholic Church never

---

<sup>289</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 31th year, July 1921, pp. 207-208. "Vous devez savoir que le Chensi est sous le régime de la terreur. Il n'y a pas de chef, pas de loi, partant plus de crainte et partout règne le vol, le pillage, le meurtre avec leur cortège de monstrueuses atrocités. [...] Mais le Bolchéviste chinois ne cherche pas seulement de l'argent, la vengeance est aussi parfois le mobile de ses crimes."

<sup>290</sup> Borodin helped Sun Yat-sen to establish a political platform called *Sanmin zhuyi* combining socialism, democracy, and liberty. Jean Ho published the first study examining Sun's Sanmin Zhuyi (Three Principles) in Québec in the 1930s. Jean Ho, *Le triple demisme*. The Archives nationales du Québec mention (193?) for the first edition of the book.

<sup>291</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 3, no. 5, September-October 1925, p. 204. "À Canton, la grande ville commerciale du Sud, le directeur Sun Yat-sen, ...était en relations directes avec les bolchévistes dont il recevait les inspirations et les subsides. Sous son égide, largement entretenue par Moscou, qui fournit presque que la totalité des fonds, se crée une école communiste rattachée à l'Université."

pardoned Sun's relations with the Communists; he was accused of transforming his revolution into a front for Moscow:

Toute l'histoire des relations soviétiques avec la Chine, les combines de Michel Borodine, représentant du communisme international en Chine, et l'organisation de vastes mouvements de «front commun» par les communistes chinois en collaboration avec le Kuomintang -organisme fondé par Sun Yatsen- confirment la déclaration de Tchang. À partir de 1922, toutes les activités des communistes n'avaient qu'un but: Transformer la révolution démocratique de Chine en une révolution au service de Moscou.<sup>292</sup>

The Canadian government never recognized the legitimacy of a Sun Yat-sen government<sup>293</sup> nor were the Japanese interested in seeing China reunited by the GMD.<sup>294</sup> So unstable was warlord China<sup>295</sup> that even Canadian Prime Minister Meighen had a hard

---

<sup>292</sup> Richard Cushing, *Questions et Réponses sur le Communisme* (Sherbrooke: Apostolat de la Presse, 1961), p. 93.

<sup>293</sup> In the early 1920s, Canada was trying to put on a "happy face" after adopting the Chinese Exclusion Act (1923). Under the impulse of prohibitionist Magistrate Emily Murphy (1868-1933), Canada closed its door to China (Levy, p. 112). The Act made the Chinese the only group being officially denied entry to Canada. As a token, (Woodworsth, p. 110-111), "the Minister of Trade and Commerce, pointed out to the British government that as a means of cultivating a friendly interest between Canada and China it would be desirable to have portion of Britain's share of the Boxer indemnity made available for the education of Chinese students at Canadian universities. Certain universities, notably McGill and Toronto, made similar representations. Nothing was done." Father Bonaventure Péloquin also warned the Canadian government about the danger of adopting the Chinese Exclusion Act. He recalled how Japan and China had demanded during the signature of the treaty of Versailles (1919) that Western nations sign a declaration officially proclaiming equality of races. They refused. See *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 1, no. 4, October-November-December 1923, p. 173. "Rappelons-nous le mécontentement des Japonais à l'issue de la Conférence de Versailles, où les nations d'Europe ont refusé de reconnaître l'égalité des races; rappelons-nous le récent départ du consul Chinois d'Ottawa, survenu à la suite de la loi [1923] du gouvernement fédéral touchant l'immigration des jaunes."

<sup>294</sup> Both Japan and the Chinese northern government in Beijing (not Sun) established official relations with the Vatican. *Le Précurseur*, vol. 2, no. 21, July 1924, p. 904.

<sup>295</sup> James E. Sheridan, *China in Disintegration: The Republican Era in Chinese History, 1912-1949* (New York: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1975), p. 58. "In those dozen years (1916-1928) of the warlord period, China had more than seven heads of State (one person served on two occasions), not counting one imperial restoration and several brief periods of regency or caretaker governments. Twenty-five cabinets tumbled one after another, each marked by dissension, with an average life-span of four months."

time understanding political developments in China.<sup>296</sup> Québec missionaries in China also sometimes had difficulty assessing who was who in China.<sup>297</sup> Chaos reached its apex in late 1923 when China had no president for more than three months.<sup>298</sup> Sun Yat-sen needed all the help that he could get to reunite China. He welcomed Russian experts to reorganize the party along soviet lines; many Québec missionaries saw this as a strange “marriage” between communists and republicans.

Sun Yat-sen’s Christian faith and political ideology did not impress Québec Catholic missionaries. Sun Yat-sen gave the impression that China might adopt Western ways and religion, after all, he was a Christian.<sup>299</sup> However, he did not impress Québec missionaries, especially the Catholics. Sun’s Christian faith was a great tool for the Protestants, but the Catholics preferred to hide Sun’s conversion to Christianity. Only on rare occasions did Catholic missionaries point out Sun’s Christian faith. The fact that Sun was a Protestant made Catholics uneasy about his faith. Sun’s republican movement received no support from Québec Catholic missionaries who preferred to characterize

---

<sup>296</sup> Woodworth, p. 180. “When asked which Chinese Government has been represented at Washington [Washington Conference 1921], the South or the North Government, the Loyalist or the Republican Government? Meighen was at loss for an answer.”

<sup>297</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 31th year, October 1921, pp. 293-295. “Cependant l’atmosphère est loin d’être paisible en Chine. L’année 1920 s’est terminée pour nous par quelques jors de grand danger. Dans la nuit du 29 au 30 novembre dernier, une troupe de soldats ou de brigands (on ne sait pas toujours par ici à qui on a à faire, et les visites des uns sont aussi dangereuses que celles des autres), une troupe armée, en tout cas, envahit I-tchang, pilla les quartiers riches, les rues commerçantes des banques, déroba ainsi pour plus d’un million et se retira en mettant le feu partout.” See also Mahomey’s book on the Ursulines.

<sup>298</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 3, no. 1, January-February 1925, p. 7.

<sup>299</sup> Scott, p. 22. “The Republicans represented a new wave of Chinese, interested in change and in Western ways and therefore more open to trade, commerce and exploitation. In addition, Sun Yat-sen was a Christian.”

Sun's party as Bolshevik. With the French example in mind, the republican nature of the Tung Menghui and GMD permitted Québec missionaries to warn about the fact that republicans were not good news for missions. Since the earliest stage of the republican revolution, Québec missionaries had shown a great suspicion of the republicans who were seen as "bandits of materialism." The three principles of Sun Yat-sen were examined by Québec missionaries. Few Catholic missionaries found Sun's ideological package seductive.<sup>300</sup> Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles" ideology was severely criticized by Joseph Zi, a Catholic missionary who was educated by Québec and French missionaries.<sup>301</sup> Jesuit Chinese father Jean Ho also published *Le Triple-démisme* which first appeared in the magazine *Documents de la vie intellectuelle*.<sup>302</sup>

Québec Catholic missionary comments about the GMD tended to be negative.<sup>303</sup>

The *Annales Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* published an article which described

---

<sup>300</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 10, July-August 1930, p. 569. "Le Triple démisme de Suen Wen [Sun Yat-sen] est obligatoirement enseigné dans toutes les écoles reconnues de tous les degrés. Or, cet ouvrage, qui contient plusieurs passages hostiles à la religion, est interprété dans un esprit défavorable par la plupart des professeurs chargés de l'enseigner."

<sup>301</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 10, July-August 1930, p. 569. "R.P Joseph Zi, S.J. bachelier chinois entré dans la Compagnie de Jésus en 1906. LE R.P. Zi a étudié la philosophie et la théologie dans les scolasticats de la Compagnie au Canada et en France."

<sup>302</sup> See *Documents de la vie intellectuelle*, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 20 February 1931. The study of Jean Ho finally became a book, which was prefaced by Mgr Flavien Charbonneau of Montréal in 1952.

<sup>303</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 29<sup>th</sup> year, September 1919, p. 393. "La lutte entre le Nord et le Sud continue pourtant en Chine avec plus ou moins de victimes, d'incendies, de pillages, les pourparlers aussi continuent,...cela depuis des mois, et pendant ce temps, les soldats déoccupés et les vulgaires bandits font main basse sur tout ce qu'ils trouvent." Also on the issue of January 1920, p. 16, the *Annales* write "les troubles se succèdent à Chang-sa, nous y avons maintenant les soldats du Nord. Leur tou-tou (gouverneur) ne les paie pas, et ils trouvent tout naturel de se payer sur le dos des habitants. Pillages, rapines sont à l'ordre du jour."

the republicans as bandits.<sup>304</sup> Missionary Eusèbe Meunier wrote in the *Missions Franciscaines* that "la maxime la Chine aux Chinois restera en vigueur longtemps. La nouvelle génération républicaine est encore pire que l'ancienne à ce point de vue. Elle est formée à la base de matérialisme."<sup>305</sup> Bonaventure Péloquin devoted one chapter to the republicans in his book *Débuts d'un missionnaire*.<sup>306</sup> Péloquin recalled how Father Césaire had painted a negative image of the republicans as enemies:

Un blessé m'affirma qui voulait s'attaquer aux inscriptions Tien-chou-t'ang [Catholic Church], lui disant que c'était là l'enseigne des chrétiens et que par conséquent l'on ne devait pas les détruire: ce qui me donna à penser que ces soldats, dans leur rage, avaient bien pu outrepasser les ordres de leur chef.<sup>307</sup>

Jesuit Father Édouard Lafortune<sup>308</sup> reported in his book *Canadiens en Chine* that the Nationalists demonstrated antagonism towards the Catholic Church:

C'est en fini du T'ien-tchou-t'ang. Partout où nous avons passé depuis Canton, nous l'avons balayé. Les missionnaires sont en fuite et leurs chrétiens ont apostasié en masse. Un peu partout, des discours comme celui-ci, qui fut tenu à T'ang-chan,

<sup>304</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 28<sup>th</sup> year, June 1914, p. 168. "Les Loups blancs au Chen-si (Shanxi). Ces rebelles [...] mènent une vie d'indescriptibles débauche. Les nombreux sectaires locaux, dit Ka-lao-hoei, sont tous en leur faveur. Ces jours-ci, on redoutait un soulèvement général de ces bandits."

<sup>305</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 2, no. 6, November-December 1924, p. 262.

<sup>306</sup> Péloquin, after his return to Québec gave numerous conferences concerning China. Commenting on the ongoing civil war in China, Péloquin stressed that China needed to decentralize power, gave autonomy to provinces and adopt a type of government similar to Canada. Not surprisingly, somebody from Québec would prescribe Québec medicine for China's woes. *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 1, no.1, January-February-March 1923, p. 33. "Les provinces auraient un gouvernement semblable aux provinces de la Confédération de l'Amérique du Nord: le pouvoir central siégerait à Han-Kao ou à Shanghai."

<sup>307</sup> Péloquin, *Débuts d'un missionnaire*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>308</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Sūchow (Chine)*, p. 48. Lafortune arrived in China in November 1925.

par un jeune étudiant attaché à l'armée nationaliste. Pareilles affirmations, bien que mensongères et débitées sans grande conviction, ne pouvaient manquer d'impressionner un peu.<sup>309</sup>

Chinese reformers and warlords needed all the international support available, including consultants from Canada and Québec, to secure the revival and reunification of China. Foreigners in China acted on many occasions as consultants to the different warlords. Two notorious adventurers who are linked with Québec arrived in China in the early 1920s: Two-Gun Cohen (1903-1968)<sup>310</sup> and Trebitsh Lincoln (1879-1943).<sup>311</sup>

Two-Gun Cohen became a member of the Tung Menghui in Calgary and later became the bodyguard of Sun Yat-sen and his wife Soong Qingling (1890-1981). Cohen helped the Chinese communities of Western Canada to establish the Saskatoon-based Keng Wah Aviation school which was intended to support Sun Yat-sen.<sup>312</sup> Sun asked Cohen to come to China with a railway contractor to help plan for the construction of the

---

<sup>309</sup> Édouard Lafortune, *Canadiens en Chine; croquis du Siu-tcheou fou*, Montréal: L'Action Paroissiale, 1930, pp. 114-115.

<sup>310</sup> Cohen was born in England but migrated to Canada in his teens. In Calgary he became involved in the GMD where he befriended Sun Yat-sen. Cohen's frequent visits to Montréal and his connections with the business community gave him some leverage when offering his services to the Chinese warlords. Cohen would marry Judith Clark, daughter of the Director of the Montréal Star. When communism gained China, Cohen lived in Montréal for a few years in the 1950s where he established a Chinese furniture store on Sherbrooke Street.

<sup>311</sup> Bernard Wasserstein, *The Secret Lives of Trebitsch Lincoln* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 198. The author says, "When and how Trebitsch's fascination with China was first sparked we do not know." Perhaps his stay in Montréal's Chinatown inspired Trebitsch for an Oriental journey. Trebitsch resided at 374 La Gauchetière West, in the heart of Montréal's emerging Chinatown.

<sup>312</sup> Levy, p. 110. Cohen became a member of the Tung Meng Hui (Republican Party) when Sun was returning to China after hearing about the Wuhan uprising. Cohen has been involved with the Chinese republicans since 1911. "To help Sun and his forces, Sun's Canadian followers started supplying pilots for the new republic. The Chinese raised about 50 000 for equipment -Cohen chipped in his share - and in

Hankow-Canton railway. Cohen arrived with C.V. Cummins<sup>313</sup> who signed an agreement with Sun, but the railway project never materialized because of the ongoing warlord battles. Sun was reorganizing his military forces which were described by Cohen as having "shoddy military equipment, minimal supplies, and haphazard training."<sup>314</sup> In 1924 Cohen assisted at the founding ceremony of the GMD's new military school, the Whampoa Academy under the direction of Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>315</sup> The Whampoa Academy was established to create a GMD army capable of reunifying China. In November 1924 Sun was invited to Beijing to attend a national reconstruction conference. Sun left Canton with his wife Soong Qingling, GMD friends Wang Jingwei and Eugene Chen, Soviet adviser Borodin, and Cohen. Once in Shanghai, Cohen left for Canada to buy weapons.<sup>316</sup>

Englishman Trebitsh Lincoln, once a McGill University student, worked with warlord Wu Beifu (1874-1939). Trebitsh came to Montréal from 1901 to 1903 as a Methodist missionary working among the Jewish people. Trebitsh subsequently left Montréal for England where he became a Liberal Member of Parliament in 1910.<sup>317</sup> After losing his money and reputation in a Rumanian oil scheme, Trebitsh became a spy for the Germans during World War One. He subsequently took part in the Kapp coup (1920) in

---

May 1919 formed the Keng Wah Aviation school on prairie grassland in the northern outskirts of Saskatoon."

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, p. 115.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, p. 124.

<sup>315</sup> Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), p. 338. Communist Zhou Enlai (1899-1976) was appointed director of the political department.

<sup>316</sup> Levy, p. 138.

<sup>317</sup> Wasserstein, p. 45.



Germany where he was appointed "Director of Foreign Press." The failure of the coup forced him into exile in China where he promised that he would create havoc in British possessions in the Far East.<sup>318</sup> He finally landed a job in Yichang and convinced warlord Yang Sen to join the Zhili faction with Wu Beifu against Sun Yat-sen and the GMD.<sup>319</sup>

Sun Yat-sen's attempt to reunite the country with the Northern Expedition directly affected Québec missionaries. In Southern China the popularity of the GMD, among whom were communist militants, worried missionaries.<sup>320</sup> Québec Ursuline Sister Marie Rosaire wrote that communists were increasing their campaign against the Catholic Church.<sup>321</sup> The Ursulines witnessed the take-over of the city of Swatow (Shantou) and Chaozhou in Fujian during the revolutionary atmosphere.<sup>322</sup> When a cancer-ridden Sun reached Beijing to negotiate the reunification of the country, Chinese support for the GMD grew. Unfortunately, Sun died on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1925 in Beijing.<sup>323</sup>

---

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., p. 230. Trebitsch is said to have met the Pachen Lama in 1925 to confront the British and the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., pp. 200-205. Trebitsch became a Buddhist monk (1931) and a spy for the Japanese during the 1930s and during World War Two. He died in Shanghai in 1943.

<sup>320</sup> *Le Precurseur*, vol. 3 no. 7, January-February 1926, p. 391. "Les Russes aident les Chinois bolchévistes, car il ne faut pas croire que tous les Chinois aient adopté la cause du gouvernement actuel de Canton. Si le bolchévisme triomphe, c'en est tout simplement fini de toute oeuvre à Canton."

<sup>321</sup> Mahomey, p. 69. "Début 1924: La persécution religieuse est imminente, ici comme partout en Chine. Les Bolchevistes publient chaque jour des menaces de mort contre les missionnaires. Swatow regorge de Bolchevistes."

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., p. 88. "Les Bolchevistes, en effet, de plus en plus puissants surtout parmi les ouvriers et les jeunes étudiants, avaient réussi à dominer une partie du Sud. Première semaine de Mars 1925, ils entraient à Swatow et Chao-Chow-fu." (p. 89) Soeur Sainte-Croix is quoted as saying: "Ici, nous n'avons plus ni gouvernement ni lois. Ceux qui ont le droit pour eux ne l'ont que de nom. Ce sont les Bolchévistes qui gouvernent. [...] Il y a déjà eu tant de guerres en Chine que personne ne réfléchit beaucoup à ce qui se passe - et pourtant on pouvait prévoir depuis longtemps la persécution actuelle."

<sup>323</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 3, no. 3, May-June 1925, p. 109.

The unexpected death of Sun Yat-sen did not change Québec Catholic missionaries' perception of the GMD and Sun's successor Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang accelerated the drive for reunification. The arrival of Chiang Kai-shek at the head of the GMD meant little change even though he severely repressed the communists.<sup>324</sup> The Northern Expedition momentum<sup>325</sup> created by the GMD created discomfort among Québec missionaries, who perceived the new republican army as hostile to their missionary activities in China.<sup>326</sup>

Québec Catholic missionaries still perceived Chiang Kai-shek as untrustworthy<sup>327</sup> compared with the Protestants who were more sympathetic to Chiang and the republicans. Protestant missionary Mary Lamb wrote "the Nationalists as [are] the only party which might have the strength to bring about peace and stability."<sup>328</sup> Chiang was a Protestant and

---

<sup>324</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 42th year, May 1928, p. 81. "Itchang 21 février 1928. Le Houpe est plus calme que l'an dernier à pareille époque, les changements d'armées si fréquents amènent toujours des ennuis, mais les vrais bolchéviques deviennent rares car ils sont recherchés, et la plupart du temps, décapités ou fusillés sans merci."

<sup>325</sup> The May 30<sup>th</sup> Incident (1925) also accelerated nationalist feelings and the urgency to reunite the country. On that day, 11 students were killed by British command while protesting. In Canton another incident occurred on June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1925 when Franco-British troops killed 52 young Chinese, triggering numerous demonstrations and boycotts. *Le Précurseur*, vol. 3, no. 6, November-December 1925, p. 331. "Le 23 juin a eu lieu entre les travailleurs grévistes et les habitants de Shameen (concession française) une bataille qui acouté la vie à un bon nombre de Chinois." For a more detailed but inaccurate report of the Canton killings consult "La bataille de Shameen" in *Le Precurseur*, vol. 3, no. 7, January-February 1926, pp. 369-372.

<sup>326</sup> Coiteux, pp. 106-107. "À Canton, il n'y a pas eu de messe de minuit. À Hankow, la même chose! À Shangai (sic) aussi on vient de distribuer des pamphlets criminels dans l'église des Jésuites un dimanche à la fin de la messe. L'avenir s'assombrit, on aura des martyrs avant longtemps."

<sup>327</sup> Langlais, p. 64. "'Il [Jesuit Father Gagnon] rappelle également que le parti de Chiang Kai-shek était travaillé par un esprit antireligieux que la fameuse purge de 1927 [April 12<sup>th</sup>] n'avait pas éliminé, ce qui montre qu'il n'était pas le fait des seuls éléments communistes."

<sup>328</sup> Shulman, p. 108.

Protestant missionaries appear to have been less fearful of Marxist ideals than were their Catholic missionary counterparts. The Catholics, as we will see, believed that the arrival of the GMD in different Chinese cities meant the arrival of republicanism and communism.<sup>329</sup>

The Northern Expedition, under the command of Chiang Kai-shek, had a direct impact on Québec missionaries in China. Most of the time, the Nationalist troops requested that missions provide housing for GMD soldiers. At the start of the expedition, communists and GMD officers put their differences aside to work to establish a national government capable of repelling foreign aggression and rejuvenating Chinese pride.<sup>330</sup> The military expedition left Canton in July 1926 en route to Changsha and then Hankow, stronghold of warlord Wu Beifu. Chiang forged an alliance with the Shaanxi Christian warlord Feng Yuxiang (1882-1948)<sup>331</sup> and Shanxi anti-Communist warlord Yan Xishan

---

<sup>329</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year, June 1927, p. 109. "J'ai reçu une lettre de Chung-king, datée du 11 mars, elle dit: "Il paraît que nous sommes *Rouges*, mais tout est calme." (p. 113) "Les gens de Tchentou [Chengdu] sont devenus "Rouges" sans enthousiasme, par ce qu'ils ne pouvaient faire autrement sans attirer de sérieux ennuis." (p. 115) "On peut dire que Shangsha [Changsha] est le point le plus en danger à cause de toutes les sociétés bolchévistes qui y sont réunies. Jesus est là, Il veille sur nous." So did Mao Zedong who was responsible for the establishment of numerous communist cells in Changsha during the 1920s. According to Stuart Schram, "Mao Tse Tung's thought to 1949" in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), Mao Zedong, as Director of Propaganda during the United Front, was the first to demand a break with the Goumindang under the United Front policy prescribed by Comintern agents and Joseph Stalin.

<sup>330</sup> Sheridan, p. 22. The CCP and GMD were out "to destroy warlordism and to establish a strong national government that could resist imperialism and improve the lives of China's millions."

<sup>331</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year, May 1927, p. 87. "Tung-yuen-fang, Journal de guerre. Bien que la guerre sévisse depuis longtemps dans nos campagnes, rien de très extraordinaire n'avait troublé Tung-yuen-fang, jusqu'au massacre du P. Maiquez. La mort de ce bon (Père Maiquez) sauva peut-être les Missions de la contrée, car le Généralissime [Général Ma-Lao-kiou] des troupes qui asségeaient San-yuan et Sian-fou [Xian] se vit obligé de promulguer des ordres très sévères pour protéger les chrétiens. Les différents chefs de cette même armée, tout en protestant que leurs hommes n'étaient point les auteurs du crime, promirent protection à l'Église." (p. 93) "...contre toute attente les

(1882-1960). He needed their support to combat Manchuria's warlord Zhang Zuolin (1875-1928)<sup>332</sup> and Hunan strongman Wu Beifu.<sup>333</sup> After disabling Wu Beifu in Hankow in late August 1926,<sup>334</sup> the northern warlords finally agreed to an alliance with the GMD on the basis that their spheres of influence would be kept intact.<sup>335</sup> Chiang could then leave for Jiangxi to destroy the remaining warlord in Nanchang and head towards Shanghai. After numerous casualties, Nanchang fell to the GMD in mid-November 1926. The right wing of the GMD followed Chiang to Nanchang, while the left wing of the party collaborated with the communists to establish a local government in Hankow (Wuhan, Hubei). Chiang rested in Nanchang to gather his forces and decide about the upcoming

---

armées de Fong-Yu-Diang [Feng Yuxiang] frappèrent aux portes de la ville en agonie, ils annoncèrent la délivrance et aussitôt les communications furent rétablies, les vivres affluèrent [30 November 1926]."

<sup>332</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol 4, no. 1, January 1927, p. 22. "Mission catholique Moudken, le 30 octobre 1926. Il souffle sur la pauvre Chine un esprit de révolution et d'anarchie. La paix doit être encore bien éloignée. Et la haine contre les étrangers ne fait qu'augmenter. On sème partout toutes sortes de préjugés contre les missionnaires, probablement parce que les missionnaires catholiques sont les défenseurs de l'ordre et de la liberté; ce qui ne fait pas l'affaire des bolchévistes. On dit par toute la Chine: «C'est un étranger, donc c'est un ennemi.» Les deux mots sont synonymes pour eux. [...] Encore une fois, heureusement, en Mandchourie, nous n'avons rien à craindre actuellement. Un homme s'appelle le *Prince*, et qui mérite bien ce nom, conduit bien la contrée du nord. C'est l'homme le plus capable de Chine pour le moment. Universellement redouté des Chinois, il est aussi universellement obéi, de crainte, si vous le voulez, mais ça marche tout de même, et malheur à celui qui veut répliquer, il serait certain de passer par le sabre! [...] Le gouverneur de Mandchourie, Tchang Tso Lin [Zhang Zuolin], n'est pas l'ennemi des catholiques, loin de là. Il a même des relations amicales avec Monseigneur le vicaire apostolique, et dans les grandes fêtes civiles, l'évêque est l'invité du palais."

<sup>333</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 42th year, February 1928, p. 36. "28 novembre 1927 Les troupes de Tong-Yu-Shiang (le général protestant bolchéviste) que l'on croyait en Mongolie, sont tombés à l'improviste sur les Honanais [Wu Beifu]."

<sup>334</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year, June 1927, p. 109. Québec missionaries had to leave Yichang during the Northern Expedition, they found refuge in Shanghai. "Les événements de Nankin ont jeté la panique: les Consuls rappellent tous leurs nationaux ."

<sup>335</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 42th year, August 1928, p. 141.

attack on Shanghai and how to rid himself of both the left wing of his party and the communist militants.<sup>336</sup>

Québec missionaries witnessed Chiang's suppression of communist sympathizers. Rosario Renaud notes in his extensive study on the Xuzhou mission that when Chiang captured Nanjing in March 1927 with the support of communists,<sup>337</sup> foreigners were attacked<sup>338</sup> and many Québec missionaries believed that the GMD was xenophobic and anti-religious.<sup>339</sup> The outbreak of violence led Chiang to reassure the international community that radicals would be restrained. Chiang decided to regroup his forces, to purge the united front of the communists and to secure international recognition before heading towards Beijing. The *Annales Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* warned that war between Europe and the GMD was imminent if nothing was done to quell anti-foreign feelings within the Nationalist movement.<sup>340</sup> After reaching Shanghai on April first

---

<sup>336</sup> Shulman, p. 108. Mary Letitia Lamb was in Shanghai at the moment of the attack by Chiang. She is quoted as saying that "the left and the right wings of the Nationalist party are very much at loggerheads just now, and Eugene Chen, the dictator, is practically a prisoner at Hankow."

<sup>337</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year, June 1927, p. 107. "Depuis ce matin, on annonce la prise de Nankin et la rage des "Rouges" n'a rien ménagé aux Européens. On ne sait pas encore le nombre des victimes tombées entre leurs mains!"

<sup>338</sup> "Assassinat de deux Pères Jésuites" in *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 4, July-August 1927, pp. 196-197. "Leur exécution a été délibérément ordonnée par les autorités cantonaises [Guomindang]."

<sup>339</sup> Renaud, *Süchow, diocèse de Chine*, p. 446. "Il en va autrement lors de la seconde poussée sudiste, en 1927. L'armée nationaliste, commandée par Chiang Kaishek, était alors communiste, antireligieuse et xénophobe."

<sup>340</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41th year June 1927, p. 108. "Même dans les concessions, les Sudistes continuent leur propagande parmi la population chinoise. Mais jusqu'à présent, les choses en restent là. Pour combien de temps? [...] D'un jour à l'autre peut se déclencher la guerre entre les armées européennes et sudistes. [...] On veut imposer aux Européens tant de conditions inacceptables que tôt ou tard la guerre sera déclarée. Les troupes anglaises dominent ici, elles y vont avec lenteur, mais les préparatifs sont faits et certainement nous entendrons cette fois le canon (Shanghai)."

Chiang unleashed a savage repression of communist and union activists.<sup>341</sup> Hundreds died on April 12<sup>th</sup> during the so-called "Shanghai Spring." Many Chinese were shocked to see Chiang persecute Chinese youth with Western consent.<sup>342</sup> Chiang's repression of communist sympathizers echoed throughout China. So fierce was the repression<sup>343</sup> that MIC was obliged to abandon its Canton mission.<sup>344</sup> The momentum generated by Chiang forced the northern warlords to support the GMD or face destruction.

During the Northern Expedition campaign foreigners in different cities were the targets of anti-imperialist militants, supposedly communists.<sup>345</sup> To reassure the international community, Chiang ordered the arrest of numerous union leaders and communist sympathizers. To demonstrate his willingness to unite the North and the South of China, Chiang transferred the capital of his new national government to Nanjing.<sup>346</sup>

---

<sup>341</sup> The magazine *Relations* informed the Québec reader that it was the communists who refused to collaborate with the GMD. *Relations*, vol. 4, no. 48. "En 1927, les communistes, puissamment organisés au Kiangsi [Jiangxi], organisèrent leur armée rouge. Ils refusèrent de collaborer avec le Kuomintang, et Chiang partit en guerre contre eux."

<sup>342</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 41<sup>th</sup> year, July 1927, pp. 131-132. "Chungking est plus agité à cause des étudiants bolchévistes (13 avril 1927). De Tchendou, on annonce des grèves et des manifestations."

<sup>343</sup> Repression in Canton, the stronghold of communist militants, went on for many months until late 1927 early 1928. Afterwards, the Chinese Communist Party leadership headed for rural hideouts. See *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 8, March-April 1928, p. 460. "Le 13 décembre, 2h. de l'après-midi. La paix est faite! Depuis 11 h. cette avant-midi, le carnage a cessé."

<sup>344</sup> Groulx, p. 99. "En 1925 année de la recrudescence révolutionnaire. Des menaces de confiscation et d'étatisation pèsent sur toutes les oeuvres et propriétés des missions catholiques. Après beaucoup d'hésitation, les Soeurs de Shek Lung MIC se résignent à l'abandon de la léproserie; et c'est une autre fuite à Hong Kong. En 1927, les bolchevistes rentrent temporairement dans l'ombre. Joyeusement, en 1933, les religieuses s'en reviennent."

<sup>345</sup> Mahomey, p. 108. "La Chine se prépare manifestement à une lutte terrible contre les étrangers, et elle est menée par les Bolchevistes."

<sup>346</sup> Péloquin, *Peuples orientaux et occidentaux*, p. 26. "Pour conserver plus facilement la main haute à la fois sur le Nord et sur le Sud, il n'a pas hésité à déplacer la Capitale, située trop au Nord: il l'a

The war situation during the Northern Expedition did not deter the continuing arrival of Québec missionaries in China. In the midst of the military campaign, more than twenty-five new missionaries left Québec for China. A party of seven missionaries of the Clercs St-Viateur arrived in Mukden (today Shenyang) to complete their China missionary training.<sup>347</sup> Jesuits sent Fathers Alphonse Dubé and Raoul Sauvé to their mission in Xuzhou by the end of 1927.<sup>348</sup> The next year, three other Jesuits joined them.<sup>349</sup> In September 1927, the MIC also sent a group of missionaries to Manchuria.<sup>350</sup> The Soeurs Missionnaires Franciscaines opened the Huili mission in Hubei.<sup>351</sup> In sum, the military confusion and political upheaval during the Northern Expedition appear to have had no impact on the decision to accelerate Québec missionary involvement in China.<sup>352</sup>

---

immédiatement ramenée de Pékin à Nankin, ville du centre." Curiously, Péloquin had been advising to transfer the capital to the center for a number of years. In 1924, he wrote that China should create a Zhongjing (Center capital) after having had a Beijing, and Nanjing. Péloquin favored Shanghai as the new capital of China and attempts were made to make that idea a reality. See *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 2, no. 1, January-February 1924, p. 10.

<sup>347</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 3, May-June 1927, p. 141. Groulx, p. 115. "Sept autres ne tardent pas à les suivre et dès 1926. [...] Cette année-là l'abbé Émile Charest amène un renfort de six confrères qui vont achever leur apprentissage missionnaire au Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères de Paris à Moudken."

<sup>348</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 6, November-December, 1927, p. 319.

<sup>349</sup> Langlais, p. 337. The three missionaries were Joseph Courchesne, Charles Saint-Arnaud, and Paul St-Jean.

<sup>350</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 6, November-December 1927, p. 315. The group was made of Béatrice Lareau, Marie-Louise Gosselin, Jeanne Caron, May Moquin, Auréa Vanard, and Anne-Marie Magnan, Anna Roberge.

<sup>351</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 43th year, January 1929, p. 3. "En Chine, la maison Puchi, dans le Houpié [Hubei], détruite en 1926, est enfin restaurée, et la fondation d'Houe li, dans le Kien-tchang, au nord du Tonkin et du Yunnan (sic), devrait être chose faire pour Noël."

<sup>352</sup> Yun, p. 11. The author explains that the missionary enterprise of the Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception was growing. "D'après le Précurseur, les recettes générales de la Ste-Enfance, puisées seulement dans quelques diocèse, se sont élevés de 1916 à 1930, à la somme globale de \$456 390. Le

Warlord China was also a period of growth for Québec's trade with China. Trade enjoyed a tenfold increase during the 1912-1927 period and was encouraged by Canadian diplomatic support.<sup>353</sup> Japan was Canada's favorite Asian commercial partner, although efforts were made to open trade in China. Because Japan was seen as more governable than China, the Department of External Affairs decided to extend full Canadian diplomatic representation to Japan by 1927. Efforts were also made to open Canadian commercial offices in Hong Kong,<sup>354</sup> joining the already existing Shanghai office in search of Chinese markets for Québec and Canadian businessmen. To promote Québec business in China, Henry Laureys, in his 1927 book *La Conquête des Marchés Extérieurs*, announced that the French language was useful in the French concession of Shanghai, but warned that the hinterland needed partners with Chinese language ability to ensure a profitable business.<sup>355</sup>

Québec trade with China during the warlord period grew for two reasons. First, more Chinese were living in Québec, thereby intensifying the relation between the two partners. Second, the republican system, even though failing, gave the illusion that China was becoming more and more of a participant in world economics. The attention China

---

diocèse de Montréal à lui seul, a fourni \$244 498. En 1929, les six diocèses de la province de Québec qui ont contribué à cette oeuvre (Sainte-Enfance) ont recueilli \$ 56 108."

<sup>353</sup> Henry Laureys, *La Conquête des Marchés Extérieurs* (Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1927), p. 33. "La Chine qui, en 1913, n'avait acheté au Canada que pour environ 750 000 dollars, figure maintenant pour 25 millions. (24 473 446\$)."

<sup>354</sup> Lower, p. 7. In 1929, Paul Sykes was sent to Hong Kong.

<sup>355</sup> Henry Laureys, p. 131. "Une grande partie des affaires, en Chine, se traitent par l'intermédiaire des "compradors" la connaissance de l'anglais peut être suffisante. Toutefois, l'importance des concessions françaises rend aussi très utile la connaissance du français dans les ports de Shanghai, Tientsin et Honkong: à l'intérieur de la Chine, il est indispensable de connaître la langue parlée par les indigènes."



generated in Québec and Canada was intense enough to sustain and develop trade during civil warfare.<sup>356</sup> From 1913 to 1927, Canadian exports to China grew from \$750,000 to \$24,473,446.<sup>357</sup> On the other hand, China's exports to Canada in the year 1926-1927 totaled only \$2,547,995.<sup>358</sup> While most of the trade was Trans-Pacific during warlord China, imports of Chinese goods to Québec also came via Europe. Montréal's elite imported furniture from the Orient. Montréal decorator Marius furnished the Turkish room and the salon of the Château Dufresne in Hochelaga (today's museum of decorative arts in East-end Montréal) with Chinese furniture and Turkish rugs. *Chinoiseries* and furniture could be imported through Edinburg<sup>359</sup> and other European cities. In short, Chinese goods reached Montréal via the Pacific Ocean or the Atlantic Ocean.

The vigour of economic exchanges between Canada and China during the warlord period is interesting because warfare usually limits economic progress. Some Chinese warlords did invest in social programs, education, and transportation, but their emphasis was mainly on arms. The fragmentation of the country badly affected China's general economic progress. Fragmentation limited the initiative of national projects capable of

---

<sup>356</sup> Products sold to China included paper, wood, minerals, flour and chemical fertilizers. Raymond Tanghe, *Le Canada dans l'ordre international*, Montréal: Fidès, 1944, p. 164. It seems that Québec exported flour and cookies to China. In his memoir of his China missionary experience, Joseph-Louis Lavoie recalls his astonishment as he entered a shop in China: "qu'aperçois-je dès l'entrée? Une boîte de biscuits Viau! En dessous de la boîte, sur le plancher, un sac de farine «Lac des Bois»!" in Joseph-Louis Lavoie, *Quand j'étais chinois* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1961), pp. 197-198.

<sup>357</sup> Henry Laureys, p. 33. "La Chine qui, en 1913, n'avait acheté au Canada que pour environ \$750,000 dollars, figure maintenant pour 25 millions (\$24,473,446)."

<sup>358</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>359</sup> Visit to the Château Dufresne on April 30<sup>th</sup> 2001.

remodeling China's economic infrastructure. In addition, the Exclusion Act limited the number of Chinese in Québec and minimized imports of Chinese goods. The flow of trade (goods leaving Canada for China) reflected the laws and policies of Canada, which permitted a maximum of trade with a minimum of immigration.

In general, Québec's involvement in China increased dramatically after World War One. War in Europe undermined missionary recruitment for China; French missionary congregations turned to Québec to continue missionary work in China. The arrival of Québec missionaries on Chinese soil fostered the publication of numerous books and periodicals that opened a Québec window on the world. From then on, Quebecers had the opportunity to read about China and to learn what was going on in Asia as a whole.

Québec's involvement in warlord China was a phenomenon that neither war nor political instability could disrupt. When China adopted the republican system, it sent a signal that the country was getting closer to the West and was now open for business, evangelism and adventure. Québec's fascination with China was hard to contain because missionaries were needed in China. The demand for Québec missionaries in Chinese missions encouraged the training of Sinologists as well as producing a substantial amount of literature on China. In addition, Québec adventurers, as well as traders, saw China as a huge market still unstable yet promising.

## Chapter IV

### Québec's Perception of the Guomindang (1927-1937)

The 1927-1937 period represents the pinnacle of Québec's involvement in China. It also reflects the deep skepticism of Quebecers towards the GMD and Chiang Kai-shek. The intensification of Québec/China relations enabled lay Quebecers to rely on a variety of sources of information, including periodicals,<sup>360</sup> conferences<sup>361</sup> and exhibitions about China.<sup>362</sup> China was the most popular foreign country (aside from France and England) to be studied in Québec during the inter-war years. Literature on China surpasses any other material of international content published in Québec both in periodicals and books; this suggests that Quebecers were interested in the world outside France and England. This literature also leaves an interesting testimony on GMD rule of China.

This chapter sets out to demonstrate that most Quebecers who were involved with China, distrusted the GMD and its handling of the Chinese government. Québec Catholic

---

<sup>360</sup> Aside from missionary periodicals already in circulation in Québec, new periodicals focusing on China would appear: *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie* (1928), *Le Brigand* (1930) and the *Missions St-Viateur* (1935).

<sup>361</sup> The number of lectures on China given in Québec exceeds easy calculation. Aside from having a group of missionaries going to the schools of the province, many lectures on China were made by famous visitors such as "S.G. Mgr Jacques-Victor-Marie Rouchouse, Evêque d'Égée, Vicaire Apostolique de Chegtu, Sze, Chine, et S.G. Mgr La-Gabriel-Xavier Jantzen, Evêque de Trenitus, Vicaire Apostolique de Tchongkingfou, Chine." *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 45<sup>th</sup> year, May 1931, p. 89.

<sup>362</sup> Conseil National de l'Union Missionnaire du Clergé, p. 136. "Exposition missionnaire à Joliette (1926), Montréal (1930), Trois-Rivières (1936) et Sherbrooke (1941)" and in 1942 to celebrate the tricentenary of Montréal.

missionaries distrusted Chiang Kai-shek; they believed that GMD educational reforms posed a challenge to the educational work of Christian missions in China. Meanwhile, GMD efforts to unify the country won Canadian and international recognition, making Québec's involvement in China more secure. This chapter suggests that Canadian recognition of the GMD regime intensified Québec's involvement in China. This chapter also argues that Quebecers in China believed that Chiang Kai-shek's inability to defend Manchuria from Japanese attack proved his weakness. Instead of confronting Japan, Chiang continued to try to "exterminate" Chinese communists in all corners of China. The Manchurian incident (1931) did not deter Québec's involvement in China. Rather it produced a considerable amount of Québec literature on Manchuria and on the Chinese and Japanese governments. Finally, this chapter argues that the announcement of a second united front of the GMD and the CCP reinforced Québec missionaries' distrust of the GMD.

Quebecers from all walks of life traveled to China during the GMD decade. Aside from missionaries,<sup>363</sup> poets, cinematographers, doctors, activists, merchants and diplomats departed for China.<sup>364</sup> Among the more prominent Quebecers that went to China during this period were poet Alain Grandbois,<sup>365</sup> missionary cinematographer Jean-Marie

---

<sup>363</sup> About three hundred Québec missionaries left for China during the 1930s. *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 39. "Plus de 300 prêtres et 600 religieuses prêchent la foi au Christ dans les seuls centres missionnaires du Canada, [...] en Chine et en Mandchourie, ils sont près de 300; dans l'Inde, 150; au Japon, dans les Philippines et la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 150."

<sup>364</sup> By 1937, 10 Québec congregations had sent missionaries to China.

<sup>365</sup> For a biographical study of Grandbois consult Denise Pérusse, *L'homme sans rivages. Portrait d'Alain Grandbois* (Montréal: Hexagone, 1994); and Marielle St-Amour & Jo-Ann Stanton, *Alain Grandbois* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1990).

Poitevin;<sup>366</sup> Adélard Dugré, the Jesuit representing the province of Lower-Canada;<sup>367</sup> Sister Florina Gervais, founder of the Notre-Dames des Anges; and Montréal Royal Victoria Hospital surgeon Dr. Norman Bethune.<sup>368</sup> China had a profound impact on each of them and they, in turn, used their influence to explain China to Quebecers.

Other less well known but still important Quebecers, made China more appealing to Québec.<sup>369</sup> During this period information about China penetrated Québec schools. Hundreds of thousands of Québec students<sup>370</sup> were made aware of Québec missionary work in China, as a result of the creation of the Missionary League of Students.<sup>371</sup> Québec parents were asked to contribute to missions with their sons, their daughters and their money. Notwithstanding the economic depression, Québec support for China increased dramatically. The economic crisis in Québec did not interfere with the increased financing for the Sainte-Enfance; nor did it discourage more Québec missionaries from going to work in China.

---

<sup>366</sup> Louis Ricard made a film *La folle aventure* concerning the life of Poitevin, the founder of the Centre Catholique du cinéma de Montréal.

<sup>367</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 92. "23 septembre 1934 Adélard Dugré, provincial des Jésuites du Bas-Canada, débarquait à Shanghai. Dugré visita les principaux établissements des Jésuites dans le Jiangsu (Shanghai, Haimen, Suchow) et l'Anhui (Pengpu, Wuhu)." Dugré wrote his comments on Québec's involvement in China in an unpublished brochure *Souvenirs et Réflexions* (Montréal, 1971).

<sup>368</sup> Bethune's involvement in China will be examined in the next chapter.

<sup>369</sup> Bonaventure Péloquin, Clovis Rondeau, Eugène Meunier, Mgr Lapierre, and Fernand Schetagne.

<sup>370</sup> The Ligue Missionnaire Étudiante enrolled 160,000 members without counting all the students that were introduced to China. Austin, p. 154. "The real growth of Catholic missions began in the mid-1930s...the Missionary League of Students counted 160,000 members in the province of Québec."

<sup>371</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 239. The Ligue Missionnaire Étudiante [Québec province] would promote missionary work in China and supply numerous candidates interested in work in China.

Québec missionaries distrusted the GMD for three main reasons. They were apprehensive about the GMD's attempt to secularize and to control education in China. In effect, Québec missionaries in China saw Chinese educational reforms as a challenge to the authority of Québec missionaries in their schools in China. Second, the fact that Chiang left the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931) unchallenged proved to Québec missionaries that the GMD was unable to govern China effectively. In addition, the fact that Chiang was obsessed with the communists showed his inability to identify Japan as the GMD's and the CCP's common enemy. Chiang opted for military answers while Québec missionaries offered Christianity against the rise of communism; the latter felt there was no need for military campaigns against the Chinese people. Québec literature concerning the Guomindang clearly shows a deep skepticism towards the Guomindang and its ability to govern China.

From total distrust in 1927, Québec's perception of the GMD did not improve until the beginning of the World War Two. On the other hand, the GMD decade (1927-1937) was politically stable enough to permit a dramatic increase in Québec involvement in China. After securing the military and political unity of China, Chiang Kai-shek moved to nationalize all spheres of Chinese political power. He pursued the goal of international recognition and the establishment of a diplomatic network extending into Québec. Chiang's GMD moved to do what a government usually does, to take control of all sectors of society. Aside from international recognition, Chiang worked to establish an educational system reflecting the ideological orientation of his nationalist group. This

move undermined Québec's support for GMD policies, especially in the educational sphere where Québec clerics were very active, both at home and in China.

Québec Catholic missionaries were more distrustful of the GMD than were their counterpart Québec Protestant missionaries.<sup>372</sup> Many Catholics expressed suspicion of the GMD<sup>373</sup> and few<sup>374</sup> had confidence in the new GMD regime.<sup>375</sup> Québec Protestant missionaries were more sympathetic to the GMD<sup>376</sup> because they showed more sympathy for and confidence in the Chinese republican system. Protestant sources offer a more positive vision of China. In some cases, Québec Protestant missionaries in China worked closely with the GMD. Author Alwyn Austin proposes that Québec Catholic missionaries often worked separately from other Canadian missionaries because of the language barrier. I suggest that Catholic/Protestant denominational cleavage was the main factor separating Québec Catholic and Canadian Protestant missionaries. Québec Catholic and Québec Protestant missionaries were often in competition with one another. Language was not the

---

<sup>372</sup> Mahomey, p. 127. "Même si les communistes avaient quitté le Sud à la fin de 1927, «le danger n'est pas disparu» avertissait-il [Mgr Rayssac] ...les ennemis de nos ennemis ne sont pas nos amis [Guomindang]." Rayssac also published numerous letters in *Le Précurseur*.

<sup>373</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 12, November-December 1930, p. 706. "En 1929, on avait cru que le gouvernement nationaliste serait libéral et ne montrerait aucune hostilité envers le christianisme, dans le gouvernement il y avait en effet bon nombre de protestants; or, ces derniers mois, nous constatons que ce gouvernement est d'une intolérance qui ressemble à celle des Soviets."

<sup>374</sup> Péloquin, *Peuples orientaux et peuples occidentaux: relations et conflits*, p. 30. "Quant à la Religion catholique, le nouveau gouvernement, non seulement la reconnaît et la tolère, mais il lui reconnaît et lui assure le droit de propriété sur tous les points de la Chine."

<sup>375</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 10, July-August 1930, p. 565. "Si la Chine recouvrait la paix, le mouvement de conversion reprendrait certainement et s'accroîtrait très vite."

<sup>376</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 38. "En avril 1927, son chef Chiang Kaishek a violemment brisé avec les militants rouges, mais n'a pas éliminé du même coup les théories soviétiques, antireligieuses surtout, inoculées à doses massives par les conseillers russes et leurs adeptes." (p. 39) "Les missionnaires protestants américains, au contraire, ont misé sur le Kuomintang dès son apparition."

sole dividing factor because on numerous occasions, Québec Catholic missionaries opened English schools to ensure a steady enrollment of Chinese students.<sup>377</sup> Québec missionaries worked in French in China because their missions were initiated by French Catholics. Catholic missionaries of other countries (such as Italy, Ireland, etc.) also worked with Québec missionaries in China's Catholic missions.

Québec Catholic missionaries were clearly not impressed with Chiang Kai-shek's Christianity. Chiang had converted to Christianity in order to marry Song Meiling (b.1897), the younger sister of Song Qingling, widow of Sun Yat-sen. The Song family was among the richest in the Shanghai community. Chiang Kai-shek's marriage and conversion to Christianity appeared to have been for political and financial reasons rather than for religious reasons. Chiang's ties with industrialists and landlords suggested that there would be neither labor nor land reforms under the GMD.<sup>378</sup>

Most Québec Catholic missionaries preferred to ignore the Christian faith of Chiang Kai-shek and other GMD leaders. Very few Québec missionary sources mention the faith of the Chinese leaders.<sup>379</sup> Only Alain Grandbois refers to Chiang as a great man

---

<sup>377</sup> The Jesuits began English classes in Xuzhou in 1928 and most of the Québec missions in China began teaching English in the 1930s.

<sup>378</sup> Chiang had been married to Mao Fumei, but abruptly demanded divorce in 1925. Song Meiling refused to be married as concubine, thereby forcing a divorce. Chiang married a third time to Chen Chieh-ju.

<sup>379</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 10, July-August 1930, p. 252. "Il faut remarquer le le Président de la République et plusieurs ministres étant protestants."



and a Christian.<sup>380</sup> Chiang Kai-shek and warlord Feng Yuxiang (1882-1948) were Protestant, while most Québec missionaries in China were Catholic. No prominent Catholic Chinese emerged from contacts with Western missionaries even though Catholic missionaries converted more people in China. No Catholic role model was available as the subject of religious propaganda among the Chinese gentry.<sup>381</sup> The appreciation of the Christian affiliation of Chinese leaders by Québec Catholic missionaries was therefore very limited.

To Québec missionaries in China, Chiang Kai-shek's inability to eliminate the warlords or the communists indicated a certain lack of efficiency. Christian warlord Feng Yuxiang's close cooperation with the Soviet Union in his regional stronghold in Northwest China did not increase Québec missionary confidence either. The persecution of the communists by Chiang Kai-shek after 1927 slightly altered the attitude of Québec Catholic missionaries toward the GMD, but they remained suspicious of Chiang's intentions.

---

<sup>380</sup> Personal archives of Alain Grandbois, Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, binder 204/4/13. Grandbois writes that Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian. Grandbois also points out that Feng Yuxiang was surnamed the "Christian general." Grandbois is the only author who wrote extensively on Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Soong Meiling. In all his notes Grandbois does not mention the Xian Incident in which Chiang was captured and forced to accept a second United Front with the CCP against the Japanese. Neither does Grandbois ever mention the Chinese communists.

<sup>381</sup> The only Chinese Catholic personality to hit Québec's bookstore was Lo Pahong, "il comptait parmi les membres du gouvernement d'excellents amis. Il se servait de ses relations pour ses pauvres et pour faciliter le travail des missionnaires. En 1928, il obtint du "général chrétien", le fameux maréchal Feng-Yu-Hsiang, la libération d'un missionnaire de Scheut accusé faussement d'espionnage et prisonnier depuis deux ans." Abbé C. Poisson. *Joseph, le coolie de Saint-Joseph* (Montréal: L'Action Paroissiale, 1938), p. 40.

Québec Catholic missionaries in China were skeptical about Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to reactivate Confucian ethics to further strengthen Chinese nationalism.<sup>382</sup> The reappearance of Confucianism in Chinese schools was a challenge to Québec Catholic missionaries who were obeying the Vatican's policy of not recognizing Chinese Confucian rites. They believed that the GMD was incapable of instilling a new constitutional order based on Confucian ethics.<sup>383</sup> The Chinese Confucian lobby tried to force public schools to adopt the Confucian Rites but strong resistance from Québec missionaries among others prevented the project from taking off.<sup>384</sup> To reassert ideological control over China's youth, the GMD launched the New Life movement in 1935.<sup>385</sup> All Christians (missionary and converted) were asked to support the new movement.<sup>386</sup> The desired impact was the restoration of morality, the three principles of Sun Yat-sen and traditional Chinese rites.<sup>387</sup>

---

<sup>382</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol 5, no.12, November-December 1930, p. 705. "Les jeunes gens revenant de France, sont imbus des principes de l'école laïque, de l'école neutre, ils sont les ennemis nés de la religion, plusieurs sont placés dans les ministères de l'éducation et dans celui des affaires étrangères."

<sup>383</sup> *Le Devoir*, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1934. "Enfin, dans la lutte contre les théories modernes, importées surtout d'Amérique, la publication d'une encyclopédie catholique en chinois, envisagée depuis plusieurs années, serait une arme de première force."

<sup>384</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 6, no.5, September-October 1931, p. 251. "En effet, l'an II de la République, les Confucianistes ayant cherché à faire reconnaître leur religion comme religion d'État, catholiques, protestants, et mahométans s'unirent et firent échouer ce projet." We will see in the fourth part of the thesis why the Vatican finally accepted the Chinese Confucian rites after 232 years of prohibition.

<sup>385</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 60. "L'Église catholique n'est plus, en Chine, officiellement persécutée. Mais le *Mouvement de la vie nouvelle*, accentué par Chiang Kaishek, ne la favorise pas."

<sup>386</sup> Shulman, p. 109. "All the missionaries, Protestant and R.C. to solicit support for the fledging New Life Movement."

<sup>387</sup> Mahomey, p. 181. "L'image de Sun Yat-sen y avait remplacé celle de Confucius. Cette année [1937], sur l'ordre du gouvernement, toutes les autorités sont allés au temple de Confucius et ont accompli toutes les cérémonies selon l'ancien rituel... Avec ce retour du Confucianisme revenait aussi l'épineux problème qui avait obsédé les missionnaires pendant des années. Deux années plus tard, en 1939, le Saint-Siège mettrait un point final à la question en déclarant ces rites plus culturels que religieux. Intention du gouvernement de renforcer le contrôle des écoles: L'État se réserve ainsi la formation des jeunes. Les sociétés religieuses peuvent ouvrir des écoles, mais celles-ci doivent se soumettre au programme d'études officiel. L'instruction religieuse en est exclue; les signes religieux sont tous bannis des édifices scolaires. Désignation d'école de religion mais pas de certificat"

The reunification of China also meant that the new government regained control over education, a sector in which numerous Québec missionaries worked.<sup>388</sup> The GMD chose to separate religion from education, which was not an original policy because Chinese governments of the past had always encouraged a secular form of education, with minimal religious content. In traditional China education was dominated by Confucian precepts, which were secular in nature

The secular nature of GMD educational policy challenged the *raison d'être* of Québec missionary schools in which religion was predominant.<sup>389</sup> Québec missionaries complained that since the beginning of the republican government, the GMD had forced a secularization of the educational sector. Rosario Renaud pointed out that the main area of conflict between the missionaries and the new regime was education.<sup>390</sup> Renaud's observations were a prelude to numerous efforts by the GMD to retake control of the education system under which Chinese youth were being influenced.

Car le gouvernement de la République se propose d'instruire les masses. Il a décidé de couvrir le pays d'écoles primaires et secondaires, il projette des

---

<sup>388</sup> Education in Québec was the monopoly of the clergy (Catholic and Protestant). From the 1<sup>st</sup> grade to university, clerics occupied almost all positions. Their social role in Québec definitely impacted on the way that missionaries saw their involvement in China. An affront to their position in China was an affront to their usefulness as persons.

<sup>389</sup> Mahomey, p.137. "Les écoles étaient de plus en plus harcelés par le ministère de l'instruction publique."

<sup>390</sup> Renaud, *Süchow, diocèse de Chine*, p. 415. "Nous verrons cependant que les conditions ont changé depuis 1911. L'ère des transformations est maintenant ouverte et c'est du régime scolaire nouveau que naîtront, pour les missionnaires, les plus sérieuses difficultés."

universités à l'instar de celles que tant de révolutionnaires ont fréquentées en Europe ou en Amérique. Ambition légitime que les Pères approuvent. Mais la réalisation du programme d'éducation nationale complique, et en bien des cas paralyse, l'oeuvre scolaire poursuivie par l'Église depuis près d'un quart de siècle.<sup>391</sup>

At the end of the Northern Expedition (1928), *Le Précurseur* published the complete text of the legislation on education as soon as the Republican government issued it.<sup>392</sup> This new legislation urged schools to provide a more classical education which favored Chinese culture. In addition, college directors were to be Chinese and inspectors of the Nationalist government could, on any day, visit schools to see if they were obeying the new regulations.<sup>393</sup> During the final stages of the Northern Expedition, Chiang Kai-shek's Minister of Education, Cai Yuanpei (1868-1948),<sup>394</sup> issued a law forbidding religion classes in all schools.<sup>395</sup> Cai received considerable support from Chinese educational specialists. The *Zhonghua jiaoshoujia* (Tchong-hoa Kiao-hio-kia: *Éducateur Chinois*) stressed that religious schools were destroying the soul of the Chinese people

---

<sup>391</sup> Ibid., pp. 420-421.

<sup>392</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 9, May-June 1928, pp. 503-504. *Le Précurseur* also published the petition of Shanghai students who demanded in article 13 the end of prayers in classes. Mahomey, p. 110.

<sup>393</sup> Groulx, p. 115. "Le gouvernement se montre exigeant: les directeurs de l'école doivent être de nationalité chinoise, et les professeurs diplômés de l'État; on y tolère que le programme d'étude imposé par le Conseil de l'Instruction publique: ce qui signifie que tout enseignement de la religion est prohibé. Les missionnaires, le plus discrètement possible, ont établi à tout le moins ce qu'ils appellent des écoles de catéchisme ou encore des écoles de prières, non reconnues, bien entendu, par la loi."

<sup>394</sup> Cai Yuanpei was President of Beijing University at the time of the May Fourth Movement in 1919.

<sup>395</sup> Yun, p. 18. "Décret en 1927. Loi scolaire du 29 août 1929, Chap. 1, art. 5, interdit le cours de religion dans les écoles de tous les degrés, et les cérémonies religieuses dans les écoles primaires."

with religious beliefs.<sup>396</sup> Numerous university students wrote anti-religious tracts on campuses.<sup>397</sup> Provincial governors were instructed to freeze any new opening of missionary schools.<sup>398</sup>

Under pressure from the GMD government, Québec missionaries in China had to change the content of their school curricula in order to make it more Chinese. To comply with the new regulations of the Chinese Ministry of Education, numerous missionaries tried to improve their knowledge of Chinese civilization.<sup>399</sup> Adapting to the new Chinese regulations, Québec missionaries became more familiar with Chinese history and culture because schools were required to provide humanities and history courses in high schools, colleges and universities.<sup>400</sup> As a result, the number of Quebecers with knowledge of Chinese history and culture increased in the 1930s and 1940s.

---

<sup>396</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 4, July-August 1927, p. 194. "L'éducation chrétienne est une éducation qui forme des disciples d'une religion étrangère, elle diffère donc radicalement d'une éducation destinée à former des citoyens chinois. Reconnaisant que l'éducation chrétienne est un obstacle au progrès de l'éducation nationale, il faut absolument s'opposer aux écoles religieuses et promouvoir la reprise du contrôle sur l'éducation."

<sup>397</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 8, no. 5, September-October 1930, p. 232. "Le Ta Kung Pao, à la date du 11 avril [1929], publie de fortes attaques contre la doctrine catholique. Même les étudiants de Tsing-Hoa [Qinghua] qui prétendent avoir 100 jeunes gens anti-chrétiens à leur Université, écrivent des articles contre le christianisme."

<sup>398</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 11, September-October 1930, p. 625. "Nouveaux gouverneurs du Gansu et Xinjiang neutres face aux missionnaires. Interdiction d'ouvrir écoles et missions"

<sup>399</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 30<sup>th</sup> year, July 1920. p. 204. "La question scolaire est devenue primordiale, depuis l'établissement de la République. [...] Vous ne pouvez vous imaginer la quantité de collèges, d'instituts de tous degrés qui ont surgi et qui sont remplis. [...] Pour l'honneur de la religion catholique, nous ne devons pas rester en arrière, et voilà pourquoi nos futures pédagogues se livrent tour à tour à l'étude approfondie des caractères chinois, de leur sens, de leur valeur, à celle de l'histoire de la Chine, de la littérature ancienne et moderne, des livres de Confucius, de la géographie, de l'arithmétique, du dessin géométrique et du dessin à vue, du chant, de la musique, de la gymnastique et de tous les genres de travaux manuels."

<sup>400</sup> With the new GMD educational curriculum, new professors graduating were to attend an array of Chinese history courses. *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 9, May-June 1928, p. 503. "Le programme comporte:

The GMD's decision to confront missionaries on the educational front was intended to provide more direct Chinese control over the ideological content of education in China and to promote Chinese patriotism. Religion, especially Christianity, was identified as a foreign topic and excluded from the school curriculum in 1933. However, unable to sustain a national educational program, Chiang avoided a brain drain by keeping foreign schools open if they agreed not to require religion classes for their students. To bypass the new regulations, Québec missionaries held prayers and religion ceremonies outside normal school hours.<sup>401</sup>

Que la religion mérite ou ne mérite pas d'être soutenue, c'est une question à part. Mais puisqu'elle exerce de fait dans la société, et qu'elle exerce une influence à la fois universelle et profonde, elle devient par le fait intimement liée à la question de l'éducation. Il est de toute évidence impossible, par conséquent, de n'avoir pas en matière d'éducation une politique clairement définie, dans un sens ou dans l'autre, au regard de la religion. Une politique destructive d'intervention, comme celle qui était adoptée précédemment, n'est évidemment pas une bonne solution de la question. Défense est faite au peuple tout entier d'exercer toute action anti-étrangère ou anti-religieuse, ou de violer la liberté de croyances des Chinois ou des Étrangers.<sup>402</sup>

---

Histoire des révolutions politiques et sociales à l'étranger. Conditions économiques et politiques actuelles de la Chine. Problème des traités inégaux. Idées économiques de Suen Wen, théorie de l'État, esquisses de la construction de la nation. Histoire de la révolution chinoise. Règles pour réunions publiques, et théories des conférences."

<sup>401</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 47<sup>th</sup> year, January 1933, p. 39. "Pékin, juillet 1932. Pour se conformer aux nouveaux règlements, les cours de religion se donnent en dehors des heures de classe et les enfants doivent au préalable présenter l'autorisation écrite de leur parents."

<sup>402</sup> "Proclamation de la réorganisation de l'éducation" in *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, December 1933, 47<sup>th</sup> year, pp. 230-235.

Notwithstanding regulations integrating Québec missionaries with the educational policies of the GMD, Chinese educational reform did not result in any closure of Québec schools in China.<sup>403</sup> In fact, the arrival of new missionaries demonstrated the contrary.<sup>404</sup> More and more Québec missionaries were sent to China in the 1930s.<sup>405</sup>

<sup>403</sup> Groulx, p. 115, In Manchuria alone, Québec missionaries worked in more than 80 schools. Groulx also points out the work of MIC in Tsungming, p. 101. "C'est en 1928 que les religieuses arrivent à Tsungming. Vicaire apostolique de Haimen (Jiangsu). [...] Un dispensaire, une école de filles, école apostolique, foyer de recrutement pour vierges chinoises, un ouvroir, sorte de petit atelier de couture, de broderie, de crochetage, de fabrication d'hosties, de vêtements liturgiques pour tout le diocèse." Mahoney, pp. 135-137. "30 octobre 1930. À Hopo, une école primaire était ouverte; et à Chao-Chow-fu, une «école médicale» s'était ajoutée à la Sainte-Enfance." *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 45<sup>th</sup> year, March 1931, p. 55. "Nous mêmes avons ouvert 34 écoles, dont plusieurs normales, notamment à Tchéfou, Kiao-chow, Tai-yuen-fou." Gervais, p. 73. "Hong Kong, après peines et misères, la Congrégation [Notre-Dames des Anges] ouvrit ainsi une école [1928] pour l'élite de la société." *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 152. "Les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes. En 1936, le F. Liguori, aidé des FF. Léopold et Barthélemy, nouvellement arrivés, allaient ouvrir une nouvelle mission à Moudken dans le Mandchoukuo; nos Frères enseignent au Petit Séminaire. Et d'autre fondation du même genre fut établie l'an dernier, juste avant la déclaration de la guerre, à Kirin." (p. 299) "Il convient d'ajouter l'enseignement au Petit Séminaire dirigé par les prêtres des Missions-Étrangères, la surveillance au pensionnat de T'ao-Nan, et de Szépingkai, enfin, la direction disciplinaire de l'orphelinat Saint-Joseph de Koanti, fondé en Mongolie Intérieure par le premier préfet apostolique de Lintung, Mgr Laroche, P. A., présentement supérieur général de la Société des Missions-Étrangères." Groulx, p. 125. The author noted the arrival of the Frères des Écoles chrétiennes. "Octobre 1936, trois frères des Écoles Chrétiennes du Canada, le Frère Marie-Liguori, rappelé du Japon, le Frère Modestrus-Léopold, professeur au Scolasticat de Laval-des-Rapides et le Frère Barthélemy, arrivent à Moudken. Ils enseignent le français au Petit Séminaire de Sainte-Thérèse, collège classique. Léopold au collège et les deux autres à Kirin." *Missions Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1941, p. 10. "En 1928, M Ernest Jasmin ouvrait à Taonan une école presbytérale [French classes were given]." Jasmin was the head director of a Shanghai Youth magazine that was written in romanized Chinese. The romanized Chinese used for the magazine was the one created by the French École Française d'Extrême-Orient not the Wade system used by Protestant missionaries. *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 227. "La Romanisation Interdialectique, avec la petite revue mensuelle éditée par des jeunes Shanghaiens, pour les jeunes chinois. *La République de Chine* comme on le sait est la transposition exacte, alphabétique. C'est l'oeuvre géniale de Ernest Jasmin, pmé." The magazine was published for twenty-five years (1928-1953).

<sup>404</sup> Ion. *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 69. "By 1933, there was 12 Presbyterian Canadian missionaries in Szeping kai/Taonan." *Le Précurseur*, vol. 3, no. 2, March-April 1927, p. 75. "MM. Léo Lomme, de Worchester, et Ernest Jasmin, de Laval-des Rapides, actuellement missionnaires en Chine." *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 11, September-October 1928, p. 626. 21<sup>st</sup> September 1928, leaves Missions-Étrangères from Pont-Viau to China: Damase Bouchard, Nérée Turcotte, Antonio Bonin, and Léon Lacroix for Manchuria. Missionnaires from l'Immaculée-Conception leaving for Manchuria were : Maria Boudreau, Éva Dumais, and Cécile Roberge. *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 4, July-August 1929: "Obligées, au plus fort des hostilités, de quitter leur champs d'apostolat et de se réfugier à Hong Kong, pour la troisième fois depuis leur entrée en Chine, elles sont retournées peu à près à Canton et ont repris leurs oeuvres avec non moins d'ardeur." See *Le Précurseur*, vol. 7, no. 12, November-December 1934. On the 16<sup>th</sup> September 1934, 11 missionaries left for China. Yun, p. 5. The Frères des l'Écoles Chrétiennes left for China in 1936. Gervais, p. 100. "S. Saint-Jospeh fut de la première profession et du premier départ comme supérieure pour la mission de Guiyang en 1932. Elle a passé 16 ans en Chine." Antoine Bernard, p. 353. "Le départ eut lieu au bout d'un an, en

Québec missionaries witnessed the 1928 completion of the Northern Expedition aimed at reuniting China. The GMD ultimately succeeded in reuniting China by creating a coalition with warlords in North China. Upon reaching Beijing, the GMD unified China in late 1928. Chiang's decision to designate Nanjing as the capital was criticized by some, but it brought the GMD closer to Shanghai for financial purposes and it was at the junction of railways and waterways. However, China remained fragmented and weak and warlords enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in local areas. Yen Xishan governed independently in Shanxi and Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin retreated to Mukden by train. The *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie* explained that a bomb on the train, placed by

---

octobre 1935, à l'issue du Chapitre auquel avait participé Mère Valérie. Arrivée Hong Kong le 23 novembre et Shanghai le 25 novembre." *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 145. "Pineault part en 1931 avec P. Crevier, le F. Michaud, et F. Lespérance décédé après cinq ans d'apostolat." Groulx, p. 106. On the Soeurs Missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges. "En 1934, sur 61 de leurs soeurs canadiennes, 51 ont pris part à la mission chinoise. Elles n'ont pas travaillé dans une seule province, mais dans 18 missions. Maison centrale à Hong Kong, d'autres postes à Canton (hôpital de Fongpin), à Shekki, à Shin-Hing, dans la province de Guangdong; à Nanning, à Kweih sien, à Wuchow dans la province du Guangxi; à Guiyang, Anlung et Anshun dans la province du Guizhou, puis enfin dans la province du Hubei à Wuchang." (p. 115) "À la fin de la dixième année 1935, la mission mandchoue comptait 115 missionnaires dont 43 prêtres des Missions-Étrangères, 13 Clercs St-Viateurs, 47 religieuses MIC et 12 Soeurs Chanoinesses de Notre-Dame-du-Rosaire. 3 MIC en 1927, un Clerc St-Viateur prêtre et trois frères. En 1936, d'autres religieuses, les Soeurs Antoniennes de Marie dont la maison mère est à Chicoutimi, apportent leurs concours au nombre de deux." Gervais, p. 98. The novitiate of Macao, where the Soeurs missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges worked, was transferred to the premises of Shiu-Hing in 1932.

<sup>405</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 6, no. 5, September-October 1931, p. 250. The Scarboro Catholic Canadians opened a mission in June 1931 in Chuchow and Ningbo. Missionaries from Montréal would join the mission later on. The *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie* indicate numerous departures for China. All the departures for China would be too long to enumerate but here are some examples of people leaving Québec for China. See the *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie* of January 1930, May 1930, October 1931, March 1934. For departures of the Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, *Le Précurseur* depicts numerous travels of their sisters to the Orient. According to Gervais, p. 58, the Soeurs Notre-Dame des Anges had 62 sisters in 11 missions in China by 1937. In addition, the Carmélites added a sister in Shanghai. Sister Blanche Michaud reached Shanghai in 1931 after serving in Vietnam for more eight years. Unpublished paper handed to the author (May 2001) by Soeur Gagnon of the Carmélites congregation in Montréal.



Japanese military extremists, killed Zhang on his way back from Beijing.<sup>406</sup> Zhang Xueliang succeeded his father and resisted Japanese encroachment in Manchuria by favoring the recognition of the GMD government in exchange for autonomy in Manchuria. The reunification of China was bad news for the Japanese who saw their interests in Manchuria jeopardized.

Depuis dimanche 3 juin, Pékin est en état de siège. On vit dans l'attente et l'anxiété. Chaque jour amène de nouvelles défaites de l'armée du Nord; Tsi-nan-fou [Jinan] perdu; les Japonais lançant des ultimatums, tout cela ne laisse pas de mettre un peu d'effervescence dans notre population habituellement si calme. Beaucoup de familles quittent la ville et vont chercher à Tien-tsin [Tianjin] ou ailleurs une sécurité problématique [...] Nous voici sous le Gouvernement nationaliste! Les soldats de Yen Hsi chan entrent rompus de fatigue, poussiéreux, mais en bon ordre. En un instant le drapeau rouge a été arboré. La ville prend un air de fête! Les étudiants défilent dans les rues avec le nouveau drapeau à la main, un petit médaillon- photo de Sun Yat Sen- à la boutonnière; les filles en font autant.<sup>407</sup>

Québec missionaries' reactions to the reunification of China was mixed. Some saw the beginning of a new era for conversion, while others believed that the GMD was not sincere in its plan to keep foreign missionaries on Chinese soil.

Comme il en ressort de ce court exposé, les nations étrangères en Chine se trouvent actuellement en face d'une nouvelle situation: elles sont poliment invitées par le nouveau gouvernement à se désister volontiers de leurs privilèges des

---

<sup>406</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 42th year, August 1928, p. 141. "Les armées du Sud avancent toujours ayant à leur tête le Général du Chansi: Yen Hsi Chan et, d'autre part: Fung yu-hsing [Feng Yuxiang]. Se voyant perdu, notre dictateur [Zhang Zuolin] renonce au combat, donne un grand dîner de gala au Corps diplomatique et quitte la ville avec sa famille et son état-major, laissant des ordres pour que ses soldats ne se livrent pas au pillage. Vous savez l'attentat dont il a été victime en approchant de Moudken!"

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

«Concessions» ou d' «extraterritorialité»; et en retour, on leur promet que la «vie et les biens étrangers en Chine recevront de sa part une protection efficace». Nous avouons que personnellement, nous ne serions pas loin de penser qu'il serait sage pour ces mêmes Puissances de prendre immédiatement en sérieuses considérations les termes mêmes de l'invitation qui leur est faite.<sup>408</sup>

The Northern Expedition was essential for Chiang Kai-shek and his conception of Chinese unity. Chiang preferred to pursue the communists and leave social services and education in the hands of missionaries. With more than half of the national budget going for military expenses, Chiang was able to rely on missionaries to keep China's schools open. It was economical. He knew that missionaries could and would educate Chinese youth against communism while he was pursuing the communists.

Chiang's reunification of China had an immediate impact on Canadian foreign policy. The first principle of the GMD was to abrogate the unequal treaties that China had been forced to sign beginning in 1842. Once Chiang was in power, he lobbied for international recognition and for abrogation of the unequal treaties which, he insisted, undermined Chinese sovereignty.<sup>409</sup> The Canadian government finally recognized the GMD government in February 1928.

---

<sup>408</sup> Péloquin, *Peuples orientaux*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>409</sup> Woodworth, pp. 185-186. "In December 1928, a treaty was concluded between the United Kingdom and China, under the terms of which all provisions in existing treaties which limited Chinese tariff autonomy were abrogated and which extended the MFN to all UK exports to China." The same was done for Canada.

The rapid changes taking place in Asia forced Canada to be more interested in Asia. Among other things, trade with the Pacific assured the development of the west coast of Canada; Canadian immigration concerns urged that Canadian officials be posted in the Far East; Canadian missionaries abroad needed protection; and Canadian security issues remained. Historian Peter Mitchell proposes that trade was the major reason for the appointment of a Canadian minister to Tokyo.<sup>410</sup> For Gilles Lalande, Canadian normalization of diplomatic ties with China and Japan was necessary to oversee missionary activities in the Far East.<sup>411</sup> Canadian recognition of the Nanking (Nanjing) government indicated a new twist in Sino-Canadian relations<sup>412</sup> when Canada extended the "most favored nation" status to China in late 1928.<sup>413</sup> Ultimately, it took another fourteen years before Canada and China exchanged ambassadors.

Asia was integral to Canadian foreign policy in the late 1920s and the 1930s. In the late 1920s the Canadian Department of External Affairs was already developing an Asian diplomatic network. First, the Canadian government had to open legations in France and England before Japan in order to avoid offending French and English

---

<sup>410</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 19. "Prospects for Asian trade in the late 1920's figured prominently in Mackenzie King's justification for establishing the Tokyo legation and in his personal instruction to Herbert Marler, the first Canadian minister to an Asian capital."

<sup>411</sup> Gilles Lalande, "Le Canada et le Pacifique" in Paul Painchaud, *Le Canada et le Québec sur la scène internationale* (Québec: Centre québécois des relations internationales, 1977), p. 364. "L'activité de nombreux missionnaires canadiens dans ce deux pays d'Asie exigeait en outre d'assurer leur protection et de veiller à la défense de leurs intérêts." Woodworth, p. 187. "The chief concern felt was for the safety of missionaries and others."

<sup>412</sup> Woodworth, p. 186. "Canada thus associated herself with the other powers in extending tariff autonomy to China and at the same time joined with them in according recognition to the Nationalist government in China."

<sup>413</sup> Pringsheim, *Neighbors Across the Pacific*, p. 25. "The Anglo-Japanese trade treaties to which Canada had adhered made for favorable conditions of trade, including the MFN treatment."

sensitivity.<sup>414</sup> Diplomat Raoul Dandurand (1861-1942) was sent to London and Paris to explain that Canada planned to open a legation in Tokyo.<sup>415</sup> This policy decision predated the Westminster Act of 1931 which granted Canada total independence in its foreign policy, even though Canadian foreign policy tended to reflect England's foreign policy priorities. Herbert Marler, a Montréal Liberal Member of Parliament (1920-1925), was appointed minister to Japan in 1928.<sup>416</sup> The appointment of Marler to Japan was intended to secure sufficient assistance and information for Canadian entrepreneurs wishing to do business in Asia. Japan attracted most of Canada's exports and appeared to be a stable government at the time.<sup>417</sup> 1929 was the peak year for Canadian trade with Japan; diplomatic efforts were made to explore the neighboring Chinese markets despite the economic depression.<sup>418</sup> A reunified China attracted Canadian and Québec traders who believed that political stability secured markets. Marler visited China on numerous

---

<sup>414</sup> Woodworth, p. 183. "It had come only as the result of direct negotiations with the Japanese Government. [...] The proposal for an exchange of ministers with Japan seems to have been discussed officially for the first time in 1927 when Hon. Raoul Dandurand, government leader in the Senate and Canada's delegate to the League of Nations assembly that year, approached Sir Austen Chamberlain [England's Secretary of State]."

<sup>415</sup> Marcel Hamelin ed., *Les mémoires du sénateur Raoul Dandurand, 1861-1942* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967), p. 285. "Le gouvernement décida de prendre une attitude plus conciliante vis-à-vis du Japon, tendant à une restriction de l'immigration, mais de manière à sauvegarder la dignité et la justice de ce pays. Il fut décidé de demander au Japon l'échange d'ambassadeurs, afin de causer directement de gouvernement à gouvernement, sans avoir à passer par Londres." Dandurand served as President of the Assembly at the League of Nations in 1925. See Paul Painchaud, p. 40.

<sup>416</sup> Pringsheim, *Japan and Canada*, p. 32.

<sup>417</sup> Woodworth, p. 227. "Canada exported manufactured goods, rubber tires, motor cars, chemicals, and photographic films." Henry Laureys (pp. 39-53) explains that Canada exported cereals, silver, lead and aluminium.

<sup>418</sup> Pringsheim, *Japan and Canada*, p. 42. "Canada two-way trade with Japan reached a peak volume of \$55 million in 1929, which it was not to surpass until after World War II. Yet Marler had gone to Japan in that year, hoping to expand the trade with Japan as well as with China significantly"

occasions, opening two China offices in Dairen and Tianjin.<sup>419</sup> An office opened in Dairen in 1931, was relocated in Tianjin in 1933 and was closed in 1936.<sup>420</sup> Combined with the Chinese political situation, which hampered sustained development in China, the world-wide economic depression proved to be too severe to sustain Canadian diplomatic offices in China. The closure of both Dairen and Tianjin come as no surprise in light of the deterioration of world trade.

Manchuria was a rich region of Northeast China that attracted Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrants as well as Québec missionaries. Missionaries witnessed the increasing immigration of Chinese and Koreans<sup>421</sup> to Manchuria after the fall of the Qing dynasty.<sup>422</sup> Natural disasters in central China often accelerated migrations to the Northeast regions. According to Québec missionary sources, there is no indication that Chinese migration to Manchuria was a GMD plan to counter an increasing Japanese presence. It appears that GMD authorities, to relieve famine and demographic pressure resulting from

---

<sup>419</sup> Lalande, p. 43.

<sup>420</sup> Woodworth, p. 224.

<sup>421</sup> *Le Précurseur*, Vol. 8 no. 11 September-October 1936, pp. 670-671. "Beaucoup de Coréens se présentent journellement au dispensaire: l'émigration augmente surtout depuis que la Mandchourie est passée aux mains des Japonais. [...] Ils entendent presque tous le japonais et font apprendre cette langue à leurs enfants de préférence au chinois."

<sup>422</sup> Manchurian rulers of China restricted Chinese immigration to Manchuria until the death of Emperor Qian Long in 1799. After the 1800's Chinese migration to the region was marginal, but when the dynasty collapsed, Chinese migration to Manchuria increased dramatically. Chinese immigration to Manchuria reached about half a million per year between 1912 and 1928. See Spence, p. 331. Chinese immigration was encouraged by Zhang Zuolin, not by the GMD. In addition, the Annexation of Korea (1910) by Japan also pushed Koreans further into Manchurian territory. Some Québec Missionaries would follow these migrations to preach the gospel.

natural disasters, improvised Chinese migration to the Northeast regions.<sup>423</sup> Most of the immigrants were seeking new lands and hoped to find work in the rapidly developing region.<sup>424</sup> The Japanese invasion did not stop the inflow of Chinese labourers as Manchuria was developing its rich industrial potential. Along with industrialization and the emergence of a wealthy class came unions and communist propaganda. Québec missionaries working among the Chinese and Koreans in Manchuria ignored the fact that many of their Christians were also communist sympathizers.<sup>425</sup>

Manchuria became a focal point of international attention which impacted on Québec missionaries and Canadian diplomats. Combined with economic depression, the reunification of China posed a threat to Japan's expanding activity in Manchuria. The 1931 Japanese invasion of Manchuria posed an international problem and impacted directly on Québec missionaries and Canadian diplomats. When the Manchurian crisis erupted, it forced the Canadian government to create a coherent policy regarding Manchuria.<sup>426</sup>

---

<sup>423</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 5, no. 7, January-February 1930, p. 394. "Les journaux vous ont souvent entretenue de la grande famine qui sévit depuis plusieurs mois dans la région du Honan. Nous avons eu ici à Tong Leao plusieurs témoignages de cette grande misère, car depuis le mois de juin [1929] le gouvernement de Nankin a entrepris de transporter dans le Heilungkiang [Heilongjiang] plusieurs milliers de ces affamés."

<sup>424</sup> Japan and the USSR were the principal foreign employers in Manchuria. Furthermore, the GMD did not have a colonization bureau like the Japanese had when the time came to colonize Manchuria. The *Nihon shokumin kyokai* (Japanese Colonization Society) produced numerous schemes aimed at sending Japanese civilians to Manchuria. See Anna Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 307-411.

<sup>425</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 66. "Similarly, they were anticommunist when many in Korea, including some Christians, saw the very Korean partisans in Chientao, whom Canadian missionaries so abhorred, as the vanguard of the movement to liberate Korea from Japanese colonial rule."

<sup>426</sup> Lalande, p. 363. "Le Canada s'était intéressé malgré lui pour ainsi dire à des questions de sécurité concernant certains pays du Pacifique, comme par exemple la Chine au moment de l'incident de

Canadian and Québec missionaries' initial reaction to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria was approval. Some missionaries believed that Japanese rule of Manchuria would revitalize a Chinese administration already in a state of advanced decay. Some missionaries went as far to say that it was for the best that Manchuria turned to Japanese rule<sup>427</sup> and away from the Chinese realm. Lionel Groulx echoed the mainstream appreciation that Manchuria under the Japanese rule would be better off.<sup>428</sup> However, Hamish Ion points out that some Canadian missionaries, (including those from Québec), tended to be against Japanese repression of the Koreans living in Manchuria.

They [missionaries] thought that the Japanese had the best chance of any group to bring law and order and prosperity to their part of Manchuria, which had suffered for a generation from disturbances and guerilla warfare.<sup>429</sup>

The Manchurian crisis deepened Québec missionaries' distrust of the GMD. The crisis did not diminish the arrival of Québec missionaries in Manchuria who witnessed

---

Mandchourie de 1931, ce qui le conduisit à participer au Comité consultatif sur l'Extrême-Orient créé en 1933 à la suite du rapport Lytton sur l'agression japonaise en Chine continentale."

<sup>427</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 6, no. 7, January-February 1931, p. 412. "Nous espérons que si les Japonais s'emparent de la ville, nous pourrions quand même continuer nos oeuvres. Nous souhaitons que ce soient eux, plutôt que les Bolchévistes, qui se rendent maîtres de la Mandchourie, car avec ces derniers que deviendrait notre sainte religion? 25/09/31 le Se tchang (gouverneur militaire chinois) hissent le drapeau japonais sur leurs résidences. Sur la nôtre, le drapeau papal flotte depuis le commencement des hostilités."

<sup>428</sup> Groulx, p. 118. "On avait traversé sans trop de malaise la première période de l'invasion japonaise qui débute en 1931. L'envahisseur avait mis de l'ordre et de la police dans le pays. Il avait nettoyé la Mandchourie de ses brigands qui avaient regagné leur retraite. La liberté religieuse s'était bien trouvée du nouveau régime."

<sup>429</sup> Ion. *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 66.

GMD weakness towards Manchuria, Korea, and Japan.<sup>430</sup> Chiang Kai-shek pursued the extermination of Chinese communists rather than confront encroaching Japanese forces in Manchuria. Chiang's Manchurian policy consisted of directing warlord Zhang Xueliang to withdraw from Manchuria and to retreat south of the Great Wall in order to integrate his forces with those of the republican army.<sup>431</sup> Some Québec missionaries believed that Chiang Kai-shek's decision to abandon Manchuria was a wise choice to avoid further bloodshed. Chiang and Zhang's troops were incapable of combating the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. The Chinese leaders feared that the Japanese would crush their best troops. Consolidation of GMD power South of the Great Wall having been completed, Chiang turned to the extermination the communists, now hiding in the countryside.

Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang (1898-2001) irritated the Japanese when he decided to construct the port of Huludao, which competed directly with the Japanese in Southern Manchuria. Zhang was more independent than the Japanese had expected. His independence was due to GMD support in exchange for recognition of the Nanjing regime and Chiang's leadership of China.<sup>432</sup> Manchuria was under Japanese influence when the world-wide depression began. The economic crisis greatly affected Japan. Radicals in the

---

<sup>430</sup> Ibid., p. 7. "Manchuria was one such place, (no Japanese regulation), and the weak Chinese authorities there did not insist on the same stringent regulations in regard to educational and medical work as the Japanese. Furthermore, foreign rights in Manchuria, as part of China, were protected under territoriality laws."

<sup>431</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 7, no. 2, March-April 1933, p. 105. "Une centaine de brigands ont demandé à être incorporés dans l'armée et y ont reçus avec honneur... Les brigands d'hier sont nos défenseurs d'aujourd'hui. Quelle «boîte à surprise» que l'administration chinoise!"

<sup>432</sup> Montreal Chinese Student Association, *The Sino-Japanese Conflict*, p. 31. "Chang Hsueh-liang [Zhang Xueliang] succeeded his father; but his attitude introduced a revolutionary change in the status of Manchuria. Through him the three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) were brought under the Nationalist Government."



Japanese army were fomenting a coup in Manchuria to force the Japanese government into a policy of expansion into Northeast China and Mongolia. On September 18<sup>th</sup> 1931 Japanese extremists planted a bomb which exploded outside the biggest Chinese compound, bringing confusion and confrontation. When the Japanese moved to seize the city of Mukden, Chiang Kai-shek advised Zhang Xueliang to retreat South of the Great Wall. Thus began the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, without Chinese resistance. *Le Précurseur* announced:

À midi, arrivent des nouvelles: les Japonais ont pris possession officielle de la Mandchourie. [...] Le RPE Bérichon nous donne des détails sur la manière dont les Japonais ont pris possession de la Mandchourie. Les Chinois n'ont opposé aucune résistance, tous fuyaient devant l'envahisseur. En ce moment, l'exode continue et les Japonais, impassibles, laissent partir tous ceux qui le désirent. [...] L'assassinat, par des Chinois, de deux officiers japonais munis de leur passeport, a servi, paraît-il, de prétexte à l'invasion japonaise. Si, personnellement nous avons rien à craindre des Japonais, par contre, nous avons beaucoup à redouter des brigands qui ne manquent pas de profiter de la situation anormale où se trouve la province. Soldats qui ne manquent pas de prouver leur patriotisme!!! Dans la nuit du 18 au 19 septembre, nous a-t-il dit [Father Bérichon], les Japonais se sont emparés de Moudken et, depuis, se sont répandus dans toute la Mandchourie sans rencontrer de résistance de la part des Chinois; il n'y a eu jusqu'à présent que deux simulacres de combats.<sup>433</sup>

Due to its distance, the Manchurian Crisis of 1931 generated little interest in Canada and Québec. It was far from home and only a handful of Québec missionaries and diplomats reported what was going on in Manchuria. Daily newspapers in Québec

---

<sup>433</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 6, no. 7 January-February 1931, pp. 399-403. Sepingkai 25 September 1931, letter from Éliane Gravel de Saint-Prosper, Québec.

reported the incident in a factual way.<sup>434</sup> The Montréal Chinese Student Association published a brochure denouncing Japanese aggression in China.<sup>435</sup> The *Montreal Herald* reproduced a letter sent by Dr. Kiang, Professor of Chinese Studies at McGill University, denouncing the Japanese bombardment of the Shanghai Oriental Library during the summer of 1932.<sup>436</sup> Québec poet Alain Grandbois complained that the League of Nations considered the Manchurian crisis to be a strictly Asian affair.<sup>437</sup>

The initial Canadian diplomatic reaction at the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva was certainly not to condemn the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.<sup>438</sup> The League of Nations was slow to appoint Lord Lytton to investigate the Mudken incident. The Canadian government, which had just recently sent diplomatic representation to Tokyo, adopted the cautious approach of trying to spare Japan while being understanding of China. The Canadian bureaucracy stumbled when Sir John Simon

---

<sup>434</sup> Of all the newspapers consulted (*Montréal Star*, *The Gazette*, *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*), *Le Devoir* was the most involved with Québec missionary work in China. Columns called "Sur le front...des missions" appeared regularly. The column published excerpts of *Le Précurseur*, the *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie* and *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*. No editorial from any Québec newspaper took a position on the Manchurian crisis.

<sup>435</sup> Authors include Dr. S. Kwauk; S..D. Quong, (Arts 1933, McGill University); W.H. Fong; and Dr. Kiang, Professor of Chinese Studies at McGill University. The latter published a letter in the *Montréal Herald* February 16, 1932 explaining how the Japanese bombardment of Shanghai destroyed the Commercial Press Company and the Oriental library.

<sup>436</sup> Montréal Chinese Student Association. Dr. Kiang's letter reproduced herein appeared in the *Montreal Herald* on February 16, 1932.

<sup>437</sup> Personal archives Alain Grandbois, BNQ, MSS-204/4/10. Grandbois said that the League of Nations remained "muette, chose d'Asie prétend-elle."

<sup>438</sup> Klaus Pringsheim, *Neighbours Across the Pacific. Canadian-Japanese Relations 1870-1982* (Oakville Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1983), p. 41. "The ultimate inability of the league to act decisively and forcefully in this matter, as well as in the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, which followed, marked the failure of the collective security system in the post-World War I era. The failure to stop Japan in Manchuria opened the floodgates that eventually led to World War II, in Europe as well as in Asia."

and Mr. C.H. Cahan made Canada's stand on the Manchurian incident public.<sup>439</sup> Even worse was the comment of the M. Bruce, the Canadian minister to Japan, which legitimized Japanese intervention in Manchuria.<sup>440</sup> The outrage of Chinese delegates and numerous other nations forced the Canadian government to revise its position and to adopt a Far East policy more compatible with the rest of the world.<sup>441</sup> Thereafter, a cautious "wait and see" attitude expressed by the Canadian delegate Cahan was transformed into Canada's firm commitment to follow the recommendations of the Lytton report.

The Manchurian Incident fostered the Lytton Commission on which Québec missionaries served. The Commission was mandated to investigate the Japanese offensive and to establish if it was an illegal occupation of Manchuria. Québec missionary Father Berger served as an interpreter for the Lytton delegates when the Commission arrived in Taonan, Manchuria.<sup>442</sup> The Lytton report was debated at the League of Nations in February 1933; it accused Japan of invading Manchuria, demanded a withdrawal of Japan from Chinese territory, and urged the non-recognition of the new Manchurian administration sponsored by the Japanese military. Canada supported the resolutions of

---

<sup>439</sup> Lower, p. 19. "Two states spoke of uncertainty about the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. These states were Great Britain and, to shocked surprise of most Canadians, Canada in the persons of Sir John Simon and Mr. C.H. Cahan."

<sup>440</sup> Nossal, p. 47. "Canada's new minister to Japan, Bruce, had been quoted in the Toronto Daily Star to the effect that: Japan's invasion of China is seen simply as an attempt to put her neighbour country into decent shape, as she has already done for Manchuria."

<sup>441</sup> Pringsheim, *Japan and Canada*, p. 38. "When outside office, Keenleyside was reporting that the Japan Manchuria incident was a step forward future aggression. Marler returned and disagreed, see his reports as misleading."

<sup>442</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 6, no. 8, 1932, p. 477. "La mission catholique reçoit la visite de trois grands personnages, consuls américains délégués vers la Chine et le Japon par le Conseil des Nations, pour s'enquérir de la véritable situation de la Mandchourie. Le RP Berger devient leur interprète auprès du mandarin et du gouverneur militaire."

the report. In March 1933 Japan left the League of Nations to protest the recommendations of the Lytton report. The Japanese responded with further aggression by penetrating South of Great Wall at Tanggu, the rail junction between Beijing and Tianjin.<sup>443</sup>

The 1933 departure of Japan from the League of Nations did not change the course of Canadian-Japanese economic relations and it did not restrain Japanese imperialism in China.<sup>444</sup> Canada continued to sell its natural resources to Japan. It is clear that some Canadian exports were transformed into armaments. The export of Canadian nickel to Germany and Japan was on the rise after 1933.<sup>445</sup> Exports of lead, aluminum, and nickel were used to make bullets for the Japanese Army. Despite growing Asian militarism, economic interest continued to set the Canadian agenda in the Far East in the 1930s.

In the early and mid-1930s few voices in Québec and Canada complained that Canadian foreign policy was fuelling militarism and confrontation in the Far East.<sup>446</sup> In

---

<sup>443</sup> China was forced to sign the Japanese-imposed Tanggu Truce because there was no Canadian or American pressure against Japan. All eyes were turned towards Europe.

<sup>444</sup> Ion. *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 210. "Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations did not excite much [missionary] comment."

<sup>445</sup> Woodworth, p. 201. "From 1933 onward attention was repeatedly drawn to the increasing exports of Canadian nickel to Japan and Germany." Canada produced 90% of the world's nickel in the 1930s. Economic interest during the Depression could not be seen as a short-term policy because ethics in world capitalism is basically the same during times of depression and development. The sale of nickel to military regimes seems very "natural" when you want to make money.

<sup>446</sup> During the 1930's, two-gun Cohen was still active in purchasing weapons for the Shanghai Clique while Trebitsch spied for the Japanese. Levy, p. 189. "Sensing the downfall of his boss, Cohen left Chen Jitang's employ early in 1936 and reattached himself with Sun Fo. He also palled around with and worked for his old friend Wu Tiecheng, who had become mayor of Shanghai in 1932."

1934 young Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, lecturer in French literature at Sir George Williams College in Montréal wrote the theatrical play "War in the East" which underlined the struggle of the Asian proletariat against Japanese fascism.<sup>447</sup> Missionary Dr. Robert McClure<sup>448</sup> made a sensation when he announced that he would be operating on Canadian soldiers shot by Canadian nickel bullets.<sup>449</sup> Member of Parliament J.S. Woodsworth<sup>450</sup> lobbied for a boycott of Japanese goods and economic retaliation. However, newspapers were against the boycott<sup>451</sup> and a large majority of MPs rejected voting on Woodsworth's motion in the House of Commons, so the resolution was withdrawn.

The creation of the "puppet" regime of Manchukuo angered junior Canadian diplomats who could not do much to prevent Québec missionaries from heading towards Manchuria. The Japanese declared the independence of Manchukuo in 1934 with Puyi, the last Qing emperor, as its head of state. Canada did not recognize Manchukuo. On the other hand, the *Annales Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* announced in its periodical

---

<sup>447</sup> Andrée Lévesque, "Les années de formation du militant" in Robert Comeau ed., *Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, un intellectuel de combat* (Montréal: Éditions Vents d'Ouest, 1996), p. 29. "En un acte et quatre scènes, la solidarité internationale des travailleurs japonais et chinois triomphe de l'alliance du Mikado, de l'armée, du capitalisme et de la religion lors de l'invasion de la Mandchourie par le Japon." Ryerson was a member of the Communist Party of Canada from 1934 to 1968. He became Professor of History at Université du Québec à Montréal (1970-1992).

<sup>448</sup> For the most detailed biography of Robert McClure, see Munroe Scott, *McClure the China Years* (Markham: Penguin Books Canada Limited, 1979).

<sup>449</sup> Woodworth, p. 281. See also *Relations*, vol. 4 no. 48, p. 334.

<sup>450</sup> Pringsheim, *Japan and Canada*, p. 46. In 1934, Woodworth was Member of Parliament for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF).

<sup>451</sup> Lower, p. 38. "The two Montréal papers, the Star and the Gazette, represent the extreme right wing of Torysme in Canada. As such they stand for imperialism and an unquestioning readiness to accept British policy wherever it leads...If Britain and Canada can do nothing to force Japan from her evil ways, they must be realists and win from her a share in the development of that vast country (China) by co-operation on intelligent lines...(we must) get our share of whatever trade is to be had."

the establishment of a new capital of Xinjing (Changchung) and described the ceremony as an auspicious day for relations to come.<sup>452</sup> *Le Précurseur* announced that "à l'occasion du couronnement de l'empereur, lequel eut lieu hier, la ville est toute pavoisée; le drapeau japonais fraternise avec le drapeau de la Mandchourie."<sup>453</sup> Ultimately, Canadian diplomats did not recognize Manchukuo, but did little to prevent Québec missionaries from heading to Manchuria. The situation was quite absurd because Québec missionaries had to interact with Japanese authorities in Manchuria, while Canadian diplomats refused to recognize those same officials.

Many Québec missionaries came to Manchukuo during the 1930s. Life in Manchukuo was fully reported by Québec missionaries. After a few years of mission activity in Manchuria, the Clercs St-Viateur (C.S.V.) published *Visions de Mandchourie* (1929)<sup>454</sup> and began publishing its own periodical about China in 1935.<sup>455</sup> Father Jean-Marie Poitevin filmed the life of Québec missionaries in Mongolia and Manchuria.<sup>456</sup>

---

<sup>452</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 48<sup>th</sup> year, September 1934, p. 167 "Hsinking est le nouveau nom donné à l'ancienne ville de Changchung, depuis que la vieille Mandchourie s'est déclarée le jeune empire de Mandchoukouo." (p. 168) "Le 26 mars 1934. Ici, loin d'être molestées, nos oeuvres reçoivent de temps à autre la visite bienveillant de hauts personnages. Une grande provision de riz nous fût même envoyée de la part de l'empereur, avec message de donner à nos pauvres un bon repas en l'honneur du couronnement. [...] Ce jour, il faisait un temps splendide. Dès l'aube, un magnifique cortège de ministres et grands dignitaires conduisit l'empereur sur une colline située du côté du levant. [...] Un autel avait été dressé, et selon le rite traditionnel, l'empereur devait, au moment même du lever de soleil, se prosterner par trois fois: du fait, il se trouvait investi du pouvoir d'en haut."

<sup>453</sup> *Le Précurseur*, vol. 7, no. 11, September-October 1934, p. 677.

<sup>454</sup> Pères Viateur, *Visions de Mandchourie* (Montréal: Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, 1929).

<sup>455</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur* (1935).

<sup>456</sup> Jean Marie Poitevin (1907-1987). His film *À la croisée des chemins* (1941) starred Denise Pelletier in her first role and Paul Guevremont. Poitevin also produced the film "Péripéties d'une randonnée en Mongolie intérieure" in 1938. Poitevin was a missionary in Manchuria from 1933 to 1939 and became the

C.S.V. Fernand Schetagne subsequently published his *Portraits de Mandchourie*.<sup>457</sup> In addition, the Soeurs Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie began work in Manchuria in 1928 and started publishing the Québec version of the *Annales Franciscaines de Marie* the next year.<sup>458</sup> Finally, MIC joined the Clercs St-Viateur in 1934 with missions in Sepingkai.<sup>459</sup>

Québec missionaries in China continued to recruit missionaries from Québec despite the Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Father Georges Marin published a tract *La Chine à Dieu* which animated discussions in Québec Jesuit institutions. Marin returned home with a film detailing the life of Québec missionaries in China.<sup>460</sup> Marin participated in radio shows, lectures, used films for missionary recruitment, gave sermons in churches,

---

founder of the Centre catholique du cinéma de Montréal. Michel Coulombe and Marcel Jean. *Dictionnaire du Cinéma Québécois* (Montréal: Boréal, 1999), pp. 521-522. The film "À la croisée des chemins" contains amazing footage of Québec's flag (the Sacré Coeur) flying in Manchuria in 1935.

<sup>457</sup> Fernand Schetagne, *Portraits de Mandchourie* (Montréal: Fides, 1946). Schetagne arrived in Manchuria in 1935. He stayed six years in Manchuria before returning to Québec. He would undertake promotion activities for missionaries in China. He wrote the play "La folle Aventure" which became a radio soap in the early 1940's. The play was written for the upcoming missionary exposition celebrating Montréal's 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1942.

<sup>458</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 43<sup>th</sup> year, September 1929. "Une Édition canadienne. Voici que paraît en ce mois le premier numéro de l'édition canadienne de nos Annales missionnaires. Ce n'est pas un essai. Depuis de longues années l'édition française pénètre chez un certain nombre des amis des Missions, qui s'intéressent plus spécialement à celles des Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie à travers le monde." In 1929 the Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie had 475 missionaries abroad. The cover of the December issue (p. 200) of the magazine features the Yangtse River. Once again, a picture of China was first used on the cover of a magazine to illustrate foreign lands.

<sup>459</sup> Groulx, p. 101. *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 145. An "école supérieure" named Étoile d'Orient was opened in Sepingkai.

<sup>460</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 20. "Des causeries dans les communautés jésuites de Montréal et un tract du P. Marin: *La Chine à Dieu*, produisirent une forte impression, surtout chez les étudiants et les novices que l'auteur visait spécialement." Cours de chinois aux plus décidés. See also the footnote at p. 21. "Un film rapporté par le P. Marin exposait en détail les remarquables établissements qu'on y avait groupés, ainsi que la vie catholique ardente des paroissiens."

and published about fifteen articles in different daily newspapers.<sup>461</sup> Encouraged by missionaries, the Ligue Étudiante Missionnaire created study circles, articles, songs, and poems about China.<sup>462</sup>

One passionate layman interested in Manchuria was Québec poet Alain Grandbois.<sup>463</sup> The Archives Nationales du Québec's biographical text describing Grandbois' experience in the Orient mentions that his stay in China affected him profoundly. The poet traveled extensively in the Orient, but his main destination was China and Manchuria. There, he met numerous people, such as a French retired captain in Wuhan along the Yangtse River. This meeting became pivotal for Grandbois' career as a poet. In Wuhan the French captain promised Grandbois that he would publish his poems while Grandbois traveled to Manchuria. One hundred and fifty copies of "Hankéou" were edited in 1934; unfortunately, the cargo did not reach its Québec destination.<sup>464</sup> So interested was Grandbois in the new Manchurian regime that he managed to meet Puyi

---

<sup>461</sup> Ibid., p. 25. "L'apport des philosophes et des théologiens à la célébration du Dimanche des Missions 1934: une causerie à la radio, quatre conférences (dont deux avec film de propagande), douze sermons au peuple, quinze articles dans les journaux de Montréal, Québec, et Trois-Rivières, soixante catéchismes aux écoliers."

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., p. 24. In 1932, the Ligue Étudiante Missionnaire had 200,000 members. See also *Süchow Nouvelles*, vol. 2, no. 11, November 1940, p. 79. The Ligue organized numerous exhibitions on monthly Sundays devoted to missions.

<sup>463</sup> Biographical details in the annex of the personal archives of Alain Grandbois in the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec read as follows: "Il fut ensorcelé par la Chine. Là-bas il se sentait vraiment libre. Pékin demeure l'une des deux ou trois villes où il aurait voulu fixer sa résidence. En Chine, il a senti la fragilité du destin personnel, l'angoisse et le doute devant notre conception occidentale de l'individu. Dans cette masse qui meurt et se multiplie, cette masse aux prises avec la faim et les grandes épidémies, quel est le poids d'une personne, se demande-t-il?"

<sup>464</sup> This was Grandbois' first publication of poems. To commemorate the centennial birth of Alain Grandbois (1900-2000), l'Hexagone and the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec published 400 examples of *Hankéou*.



(1905-1967) the last Qing Emperor, who was serving as the emperor of the “puppet” regime of Manchukuo. Grandbois noted in his archives that he was curious to see if the Japanese had drugged Puyi with opium. To his astonishment, Puyi spoke good French and had an hour conversation about geopolitics and poetry.<sup>465</sup> Grandbois' knowledge of Manchuria served him later when he became an analyst for Radio-Canada during World War Two.

Québec missionaries living in Japan in the 1930s explained that the Japanese people were peaceful<sup>466</sup> and that Japanese aggression in Manchuria was the result of Japanese extremists within the army. Québec missionary sources explain that Japan invaded Manchuria because it was acting like a conqueror in light of its capacity to assimilate science, the secret of Western military strength. The economic depression, the failure of Japanese reconciliation with the West (1919-1931), and the growth of right wing extremists in the Japanese Army had precipitated Japanese intervention on Chinese soil. Father Urbain Cloutier maintained that those leaving Japan and heading for China were not the best types of Japanese.<sup>467</sup> He said that migration to Manchuria was the opportunity for those seeking military advancement in a rapid fashion. Colonization of Manchuria and Korea grew dramatically. From 1931 to 1937, the Japanese civilian population in

---

<sup>465</sup> Personal archives of Alain Grandbois, MSS-204, binder 204/4/13.

<sup>466</sup> See Urbain Cloutier, *Propos japonais* (Québec: Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire, 1922), which sold over 5,000 copies. As noted before, Bonaventure Pélouquin sold more than 10,000 copies of *Début d'un missionnaire*. In Québec, during the early 1920s, the Orient was a publishing success.

<sup>467</sup> Urbain Cloutier, *Le Raffinement Japonais* (Québec: Smyrne Braine-le-comte, 1934), p. 39. Cloutier refers to the racial policies adopted in North America as a proof of the Japanese conciliation towards the West.

Manchuria increased from 185,000 to 548,000.<sup>468</sup> It reached 1.75 million in China in 1945 with 900,000 Japan soldiers in Manchuria alone.<sup>469</sup>

Québec missionaries in China also reported the ongoing GMD repression of communist sympathizers and militants.<sup>470</sup> Chiang Kai-shek focused on the elimination of the communists despite the threat of Japanese invasion. His obsession brought a great deal of criticism from Québec missionaries and Chinese students and intellectuals. Chiang's repression was harsh and his conscription efforts were intended to neutralize any recruitment capabilities of the CCP.<sup>471</sup> GMD corruption was rampant. Taxes were always on the rise and inflation was high. So bad was Chiang's government that villagers sometimes welcomed any new ruler, including the communists.<sup>472</sup> Economic deterioration and unemployment facilitated the appearance of numerous gangs, which survived on extortion and banditry. Chiang responded to the political upheaval of the late 1920s and early 1930s with harsher repression and limited freedom of speech. Chiang used his

---

<sup>468</sup> Anna Louise Young, p. 253.

<sup>469</sup> Spence, p. 485.

<sup>470</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 45<sup>th</sup> year, April 1931, p. 69. "Le 10 octobre, tentative sérieuse des bolchévistes, mais les généraux veillaient... Plusieurs exécutions, des emprisonnements eurent lieu."

<sup>471</sup> Coiteux, p. 135. "Le 23 novembre 1936. La Chine se réveille, elle va établir la conscription. Déjà on voit les nouvelles réserves creuser des tranchées et faire des exercices."

<sup>472</sup> Mahomey, p. 138. "Les communistes gagnent du terrain: ils sont partout. Dès que la chance se présentera ils deviendront maîtres. Dans bien des endroits les gens, épuisés par les taxes et autres exigences gouvernementales, ne sont pas fâchés de les voir arriver."

military forces against the underground CCP and ignored Japan. Québec missionaries of Notre-Dame des Anges noted at the time that Chiang's policy was counter-productive.<sup>473</sup>

Chiang Kai-shek moved to ensure support of his struggle against communism with the help of the Catholic Church. In 1929 Chiang invited the Vatican to participate in a special funeral ceremony for Sun Yat-sen in Nanjing<sup>474</sup> as part of a plan to pursue warmer relations with the Vatican and with Protestants in China. This gesture appealed to some Québec missionaries and to the Vatican.<sup>475</sup> In the 1930s, the Vatican initiated a major shift in its Asian policy, making Asian rites more acceptable to the Catholic Church and therefore to Québec missionaries. The Vatican recognized the Japanese Shinto cult of the emperor in 1935<sup>476</sup> and Chinese Confucian ancestor worship in 1939. In return, the Vatican secured official recognition of the Catholic religion by Japan in 1940.<sup>477</sup> This

---

<sup>473</sup> Ibid., p. 156. "Sur son ordre des douzaines de villages ont été évacués et brûlés. En conséquence, beaucoup de ceux qui ont tout perdu sont allés d'eux-mêmes rejoindre les Communistes. [...] On ne voit pas comment la Chine arrivera à se débarrasser de l'Armée Rouge."

<sup>474</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 8, no. 2, March-April 1930, p. 93. "Le Gouvernement de la République Chinoise, qui avait hautement apprécié les très nobles sentiments du Pape, dès les premiers préparatifs en vue des funérailles nationales, avait demandé au Saint Siège de vouloir bien envoyer un représentant Extraordinaire pour assister aux cérémonies de la translation des dépouilles mortelles du Dr. Sun Yat Sen de Peiping [Beijing] à Nanking."

<sup>475</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 8, no. 2, March-April 1930, p. 95. "Il faut rendre hommage au Gouvernement Chinois qui, par des efforts continus et vraiment louables pour enrayer le péril du bolchévisme a travaillé au salut de la Chine."

<sup>476</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*. The author dedicates one chapter in his book to the reasons that motivated the Vatican to accept the Shinto cult. The Vatican's policy toward Asia will be developed in chapter seven.

<sup>477</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 95. Radio interview on China with a father from the Missions-Étrangères. Radio host: "L'Église catholique n'est-elle pas maintenant reconnue officiellement dans l'Empire japonais?" Father: "oui; depuis 1940. Et l'échange récent de représentants diplomatiques entre le Japon et le Saint-Siège permet d'être optimiste sur l'avenir de la religion en Orient."

made the Vatican less critical of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and China.<sup>478</sup> For Chiang Kai-shek, the Catholic Church could be used as a tool of containment against Mao Zedong's communists.<sup>479</sup> In 1943, the GMD regime finally recognized the Vatican for the purpose of fighting communism.<sup>480</sup> The move also promoted the creation of an indigenous clergy capable of sustaining proselytism by Christian churches in China despite political upheavals and war.

Québec missionaries reported that the CCP was a major challenge to Chiang's authority. The call for communist revolution had a nationwide effect. Communist activists in Manchuria,<sup>481</sup> Hunan,<sup>482</sup> Hubei,<sup>483</sup> Guangdong and major cities in China attempted armed revolution in the early 1930s. The uprising failed miserably due to poor coordination, lack of popular support, and poor military equipment. According to the *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, GMD repression of the communists

---

<sup>478</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1941, p. 7. "Le collège [Saint-Viateur] est reconnu officiellement par le Ministre de l'Éducation du pays [Manchoukuo?]." (p. 13) A royal edict of Puyi on the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1940 proclaimed "N'oubliez pas que ces incomparables résultats sont tous venus par la protection de Sa Majesté l'Empereur Japonais."

<sup>479</sup> Dragon, *En mission*, p. 44. "Le goût de l'instruction supérieure se développe rapidement; puis, les patriotes chinois s'aperçoivent que l'enseignement et l'éducation données par les missionnaires catholiques sont le plus ferme rempart contre la menace communiste."

<sup>480</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 18, November-December 1946. "Pour la première fois dans son histoire, la Chine vient d'établir des rapports diplomatiques directs avec le Vatican."

<sup>481</sup> Ion. *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 60. "In the spring of 1930, the Chinese Communist Party called upon its Korean comrades to launch a major uprising in Chientao."

<sup>482</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 45<sup>th</sup> year, January 1931, p. 8. "Shan-sha [Changsha] est en possession des communistes [...] les soldats, qui n'étaient pas payés depuis trois mois, se débandèrent et pour la plus grande partie s'unirent aux extrémistes [Peng Dehuai]." Guillerma, p. 201. Communists rebels, under Peng Dehuai's command, held Changsha for ten days in the summer offensive of 1930. See also *Le Brigand*, no. 20, February 1933.

<sup>483</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 9, June 1931. "Le Hou-pé était sous la menace bolchéviste depuis des mois. Toutes les correspondances qui en venaient ne parlaient que de brigandages et d'hécatombes."

was severe.<sup>484</sup> However, failures did not stop the CCP from regrouping in the countryside<sup>485</sup> and maintaining pressure on urban areas.<sup>486</sup> Chiang responded by launching "bandit suppression campaigns." The term seemed to confuse Québec missionaries who did not necessarily believe that bandits were communists or that the communists were bandits. Sister Irene Mahomey mentioned that Québec Ursulines were incapable of developing a general view of the Chinese situation because of ignorance<sup>487</sup> and their isolation<sup>488</sup> in missions. Jacques Langlais also believes that looking at China through Québec missionary eyes may pose a problem in sorting out the communists from local

---

<sup>484</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 44<sup>th</sup> year, October 1930, p. 191. "Itchang 28 mai 1930. Le Samedi 17, nous rendant en ville, nous nous trouvâmes au milieu d'une foule compacte réunie pour assister à l'exécution de 14 communistes arrêtés à Itchang deux jours auparavant. D'autres, emprisonnés, seront fusillés par groupe et à quelques jours d'intervalle, 300, dit-on attendant ainsi la mort!"

<sup>485</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 48<sup>th</sup> year October 1934, p. 181. "Missionnaire de Ning-uen-fou et de Houéli en ont parlé plus d'une fois (lolos) aussi, et ont raconté leurs terribles représailles. Cependant, l'an dernier, l'entrée d'un missionnaire en lolotie faisait presque rêver à une fondation! [...] Quand aux Rouges!, écrivaient alors les missionnaires on n'en entend guère parler; nous sommes en retard au Kientchang! [...] Parole d'espoir! Peu après 3 000 rouges arrivaient sous le couvert d'une petite armée prête à combattre les redoutés Lolos. Ils pillèrent les pagodes, brisèrent les poussahs, puis se tournèrent contre les chrétientés."

<sup>486</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 45<sup>th</sup> year February 1931, pp. 26-27. "Le 6 aout, les soldats réguliers parvint à maîtriser les Rouges; le peuple commença à respirer, n'osant trop vite cependant, croire à la délivrance. [...] Les Rouges ont été chassés, mais n'avons-nous pas à craindre des représailles? Deux milles femmes communistes font de la propagande en ville."

<sup>487</sup> Mahomey, pp. 138-139. "Le conflit sanglant entre communistes et nationalistes à Shanghai en 1927, la prise de la Mandchourie par les Japonais en 1931, le curieux enlèvement du général Tchang Kaï-chek par ses propres soldats: aucune allusion à ces faits, malgré leur signification capitale pour l'avenir de la Chine. Les lettres des religieuses ne donnent pas plus d'informations. Alors qu'elles sont si observatrices, si exactes, à noter les événements qui se passent quotidiennement aux environs de Swatow, elles ne font jamais émerger une vue d'ensemble. Conséquence à n'en pas douter de la nature même de ces lettres (destinataires et buts), mais aussi, en partie, pure ignorance."

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179. "La Chine était à la veille d'une guerre désastreuse de douze ans. Malgré cela, on ne trouve pas un mot des événements politiques dans la maigre correspondance des religieuses. Peut-être s'étaient-elles tellement accoutumées aux conflits... Et l'on se pose de nouveau la question: que savaient les religieuses enfermées dans leur couvent?"

bandits.<sup>489</sup> Nevertheless, their assessments of communist whereabouts appear to have been honest, mostly accurate and relevant.

Québec missionaries witnessed Chiang Kai-shek's numerous campaigns<sup>490</sup> to eradicate the communist guerillas hidden in the mountainous regions.<sup>491</sup> Chiang's fifth campaign, by far the largest involving 700 000 soldiers, succeeded in dislodging the CCP from its base in the border region of Fujian-Jiangxi provinces. The Chinese communists undertook the so-called Long March to escape annihilation. After 10,000 *li* or 6,000 miles, the CCP finally settled in the Yan'an (Yenan) area in Northern Shaanxi. The terrain provided a perfect camouflage against any aerial bombardment because cave homes provided an efficient hiding place. The Long March was an epic journey in Chinese history, but it was not reported by Québec sources. The Long March had a profound impact on the leadership of the CCP. In Guizhou, just a few kilometers away from a Notre-Dame des Anges mission, Mao Zedong settled the leadership issue at the Zunyi Conference at which he took control over the CCP. Québec missionaries knew that GMD

---

<sup>489</sup> Langlais, p. 138. "Dans les textes [Québec Jesuit missionary sources], il n'est guère question que d'une société secrète, les Grands-Couteaux, ainsi que de bandes de brigands qui ravagent périodiquement la campagne. On peut s'étonner de n'y trouver aucune mention des Nian, qui avaient sillonné la région au XIXe siècle. [...] Mais il faut rappeler encore ici que les jésuites du Québec sont avant tout des missionnaires, la plupart affectés à la pastorale rurale, et qu'ils parlent des problèmes auxquels ils sont directement et quotidiennement affrontés."

<sup>490</sup> *Annales Franciscaines des Missionnaires de Marie*, 48<sup>th</sup> year, May 1934, pp. 90-95. "Depuis plus d'un mois la presse et les dépêches venues de Chine relatent la situation de plus en plus critique au Su-chuen [Sichuan] et les efforts de la campagne anti-communiste."

<sup>491</sup> *Les Missions Franciscaines*, vol. 8, no. 5, September-October 1930, p. 213. In Jiangxi, "Des dix sous-préfectures de Kian, sept sont sous la domination rouge communiste, et ici nous sommes environnés des quatre côtés par cette mer rouge."

forces were running after the communists, but nowhere do Québec sources explain the escape of the CCP and its Long March.

The survival of the Chinese communists and the subsequent declaration of a second united front (including the GMD and the CCP) impacted on Québec missionaries. It is only when Chiang Kai-shek reached Xian in late 1936, pursuing the remaining communists, that people in Québec learned that the communists had survived and were in Yan'an.<sup>492</sup> Zhang Xueliang, the once Manchurian warlord, had integrated into the GMD and had become the personal bodyguard of Chiang Kai-shek. He played a mysterious role in what would be known as the Xian incident. Zhang negotiated in secret an agreement with the Communists to end the persecution of the CCP and prepare for war against Japan. While the communists were hiding in northern Shanxi, Chiang arrived in Xian in December 1936 to witness the final elimination of the communists. During the night of December 11<sup>th</sup> 1936, Zhang Xueliang took Chiang hostage and forced him to agree to a second united front with the CCP and to begin more active resistance against Japan.<sup>493</sup> Zhou Enlai and Chiang negotiated the agreement in late December 1936, thus beginning the second united front. The Québec magazine *Relations* details the basis for the second

---

<sup>492</sup> The survival of the communists depicted in the book *Red Star over China* had a profound effect on Montréal's surgeon Norman Bethune. I have no intention to argue that Bethune was a "Québécois" for he was born and raised in Gravenhurst, Ontario. However, his six years in Montréal affected him profoundly and he became more politically involved. His work in Montréal was a great achievement. He established a free Medicare clinic in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve; he opened a children art shop; and invented numerous surgical instruments. His communist friends in Montréal included Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson secretary of the Canadian Communist Party in Québec.

<sup>493</sup> Pierre-Xavier Mertens, *L'Église en Chine, situation actuelle* (Montréal: École Sociale Populaire, 1948), p. 12. "Captif de Chang Hsue-liang [Zhang Xueliang] à Si-An, c'est dans la prière qu'il [Chiang] puisait sa force." *Le Brigand* argues that it was Soong Meiling that took care of negotiations and urgent Guomindang business while Chiang was captive. See *Le Brigand*, no. 57, June 1938. "Les services d'espionnage et de contre-espionnage sont sous son autorité."

united front.<sup>494</sup> News of the second united front confirmed what Québec missionaries had thought during the first united front: that the GMD and the CCP were atheist parties, and that both ignored religion as a tool of national reconstruction.

The GMD decade did not increase the confidence of Québec missionaries in Chiang Kai-shek's government. The corruption of the GMD; the educational reforms proposed and implemented by the republicans; the New Life movement (which was seen as reactionary by Québec missionaries); the constant banditry; Chiang's devastating witchhunt against the CCP; and his incapacity to repulse the Japanese all contributed to Québec missionaries lack of confidence in the GMD. In addition, the second united front once more brought the CCP and the GMD together; this exacerbated Québec missionary distrust of the GMD. The Japanese invasion of China put an end to the GMD decade and plunged China into chaos for the next twelve years. It took the World War Two to make Québec's perception of the GMD more positive.

---

<sup>494</sup> *Relations*, vol. 4, no. 48, p. 334.



## **PART THREE**

### **Québec in Wartime China (1937-1949)**

Part three examines Québec's involvement in wartime China (1937-1949). The Sino-Japanese War, which became World War Two in late 1941, greatly affected Québec-China relations. In Québec, demonstrations took place in support of the Chinese: Norman Bethune left Montréal to join the CCP; Alain Grandbois denounced the Japanese occupation of Manchuria; and some Québec missionaries complained about the Japanese in China. When Canada declared war against Japan in late 1941, Quebecers in the Japanese Empire were interned, while the Japanese living in Canada were forcibly detained. Québec missionary activity in China came to a standstill. Quebecers' observations on the governments in wartime China give an insider's view of how foreigners experienced the Japanese occupation of China.

The war prompted Canadian military intervention in Hong Kong to protect the British colony from Japanese invasion. The presence of the Canadian military and diplomatic corps added a new dimension to Québec's involvement in China. Québec City served as the site for two international conferences in which plans to liberate China were discussed. The outcome of the Pacific War led to a realignment of Québec missionaries in favor of the GMD regime because the victory of the CCP was now a possibility. The Civil War (1945-1949) that followed World War Two saw a further shift of Québec missionary support to the GMD because no other Chinese political party appeared to be capable of repulsing communist advances in China.

## Chapter V

### Québec in China During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)

There were two distinct phases to Québec's involvement in China during the World War Two. The first phase (1937-1941) consisted of Japan being at war with China without fundamentally influencing Canada's foreign policy towards Asia. Québec missionaries continued to pour into China until late 1941 and Canadian trade with Japan and China flourished during the same period. Trade with China and Japan came to a sudden stop in late 1941 when Canada declared war on Japan. The Québec City Royal Rifles were sent by the Canadian government to defend Hong Kong, a British colony. During the second phase of the war (late 1941-1945), Québec missionary involvement in China came to a standstill, while Canadian military and diplomatic links with China became more geo-strategically defined. Canadian military aid and Canada's diplomatic recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's regime were intended to defeat the Japanese, while providing a defense against communism. Québec missionaries also became less suspicious of the GMD during the war period because the GMD offered a barrier against communism. Among the Allied forces in Asia, Canadian participation in World War Two was modest. Yet, two Québec Conferences (1943 and 1944) elaborated plans to retake China from Japan. After the Japanese defeat in 1945, Québec missionaries returned to their posts in China and opened new missions there despite the emergence of communism as a major force in China.

This chapter examines how World War Two secularized and militarized Québec's involvement in China. Québec/China relations became more militant and political.<sup>495</sup> The presence of Quebecers among Canadian soldiers sent to Hong Kong also altered the relationship between Québec and China; it became more ideological and geo-strategically defined. As well, the war situation changed Québec's economic involvement in China; Québec military exports were now in greater demand worldwide. The war situation resulted in the detention of civilians and military personnel, including Canadians many of whom were from Québec, which forced Canadian diplomats to solve the crisis. Aside from the members of the Chinese and Japanese communities living in Québec, few people in Québec were personally involved in the Sino-Japanese War. Norman Bethune and Alain Grandbois stand out as exceptions. Although Québec missionaries criticized the Japanese invasion of China in their periodicals, they refrained from conducting anti-Japanese activities. This chapter also argues that the war situation accelerated the knowledge of Chinese history and culture in Québec. Quebecers were exposed to studies explaining the significance of the Asian theatre during the World War Two. Two international conferences held in Québec City also made Asia more meaningful to Québec. The publication of books, periodicals, films, and conferences about China in Québec increased dramatically. Finally, this chapter suggests that World War Two highlighted the different situations of Québec Catholic and Québec Protestant missionaries in China. Alvyn Austin

---

<sup>495</sup> Some clerics in Québec saw Japanese imperialism as a dangerous threat to Canadian sovereignty. This type of reaction to the Japanese living in Canada would result in the detention of Japanese in Canada during the war. Woodworth, p. 200. "In November, 1937, Archdeacon F.G. Scott of Québec declared...that Japan has infiltrated the West coast."

notes that language was a barrier that divided Canadian missionaries.<sup>496</sup> This chapter suggests that religious denomination was the most important dividing factor. The fact that Catholic missionaries chose to remain in their China mission (even under Japanese rule) curtailed any concerted efforts by Québec missionaries to denounce the Japanese occupation of China.

The official start of the Sino-Japanese War was July 7, 1937.<sup>497</sup> The Marco Polo Bridge incident outside Beijing inflamed what had been in preparation for a while. The Japanese military perceived the second united front between the CCP and the GMD in late 1936 as a threat to Japan's interests in China. Japanese military extremists in China dominated Japan's foreign policy, believing that Chinese resistance could be crushed rapidly.<sup>498</sup> Japan attacked China's coastal cities in the autumn of 1937, taking Shanghai and reaching Nanjing on December 13<sup>th</sup>. According to historian Hamish Ion, the atrocities committed by the Japanese army in Nanjing were well known to Canadian missionaries.<sup>499</sup> The control of the railways was important to link all the new Japanese positions in East China. Not surprisingly, Québec's Jesuit mission in Xuzhou was attacked in May 1938 as part of the effort to secure this major railway junction.<sup>500</sup> As a result, most of China's

---

<sup>496</sup> Austin, p. 148. "In China as in Canada, the famous "two solitudes" were still in effect: when English Canadians encountered French Canadians in the interior of China, sixteen thousand kilometers from home, the only language they could communicate in was Chinese."

<sup>497</sup> For Alain Grandbois, the conflict began with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, BNQ, MSS-204/4/10.

<sup>498</sup> Mahomey, p. 195. The author cites Sister Marie Rosaire: "Les Chinois résistent et ils ne veulent pas céder. Les Japonais n'avaient compté sur cette résistance."

<sup>499</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 222.

<sup>500</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 58, September 1938.

eastern coast was in the hands of the Japanese before the beginning of World War Two in Europe.

Québec involvement in wartime China covered a broad spectrum. Some Quebecers, such as Dr. Norman Bethune and the Canadian Communist Party (Québec section), actively supported the CCP. Meanwhile, the Canadian government and some Québec Protestant missionaries based in "Free China" territory supported the GMD government in Chongqing. Most Québec Catholic missionaries preferred to stay in their missions and to accept the new regime, either Wang Jingwei's, Puyi's Manchukuo, or direct Japanese administration.<sup>501</sup> Québec Catholic missionaries continued their work despite the situation. They were obeying Rome rather than Ottawa or Chongqing.<sup>502</sup>

The Sino-Japanese War accelerated the launching of new Québec periodicals about China. Some of these Québec periodicals were even published in China, such as *Süchow*

---

<sup>501</sup> Trebitsch Lincoln, once a Methodist missionary for Jews and Catholics in Québec, liberal MP and Buddhist monk, took the Chinese name of Chao Kung. Chao Kung, who once threatened to create havoc in British colonial possessions, would publish a pamphlet in Tianjin: "As a friend of China I declare: Free yourselves from the corrupting influence of the Guomindang and Soviet; liberate yourselves from the selfish influence of Occidental Nations, and you will find that Japan is our true friend, ready to help you." Ultimately, Trebitsch would plan an Indian Japanese-backed guerrilla aimed at destabilizing the British in South Asia. See Wasserstein, p. 275. "German Consul-General in Shanghai to Berlin: Chao Kung wants to organise from Tashilumpo (an) Indian independence movement together with (the) Congress Party and nationalist leader Sahay, who (is) in Shanghai this week." Trebitsch would die on October 6<sup>th</sup> 1943 in the Shanghai General Hospital.

<sup>502</sup> Austin, p. 150. "French-Canadian missionaries took with them to China a view of mission work that was, unlike that of either English-Canadian Protestants or French Catholics, tempered by their own history as subject people. Once they reached their stations in *la brousse*, they were apt to dissociate themselves from imperial power, keeping communications with the British or Canadian consuls to a minimum."

*Nouvelles* (1939) and Québec Jesuits' *Nouvelle Lumière* (Xin Guang).<sup>503</sup> New periodicals concerned with China were also published in Québec, such as *En Chine avec les Soeurs missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges* (1939) and the magazines *Relations* (1939) and *Missions-Étrangères du Québec* (1941).<sup>504</sup> The increased number of historical and political studies of the Sino-Japanese War encouraged awareness of China in Québec.<sup>505</sup> With the dozen of missionary periodicals already in circulation, 1942 was the best year for the study and and popularization of China in Québec.

Montréal's tricentennial celebrations provided the opportunity for numerous congregations to sponsor cultural activities, arts and literature concerned with Québec's involvement in China. One of these exhibitions was the Ville-Marie missionary exhibition celebrating three hundred years of Montréal (1642-1942). The exhibition presented lectures, films, plays and other activities demonstrating the involvement of Québec in China.<sup>506</sup> More than 5,000 Québec teachers received *Documentation*, a bi-monthly magazine published by the *Comité Missionnaires* who invited them to the

---

<sup>503</sup> *Süchow Nouvelles*, vol. 1, no. 2, February 1939, p. 11. The magazine *Süchow Nouvelles* would feature detailed economic reports on the Xuzhou region, its local history, and numerous news dispatches.

<sup>504</sup> Edgar Larochelle, became the chief editor of the magazine *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, in which the first article "Un Pékinois" was written by Damase Bouchard, a missionary working in Seping kai, Manchuria. *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1941.

<sup>505</sup> For example: Urbain-Marie Cloutier, *Le Conflit sino-japonais*; Hugh Byas, *Le Japon et la Guerre* (Montréal: Les Éditions Variétés, 1942); Charles J. Woodworth, *Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations*; William Strange, *Canada, the Pacific and War* (Toronto: Nelson Books, 1937); and Arthur Lower, *Canada and the Far East*.

<sup>506</sup> The exhibition was held from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup> September 1942. It was organized by the Ligue Missionnaire Étudiante, which had an important network of organizers throughout Québec. The exhibition gathered 15 communities of fathers, 6 congregations of brothers, and 22 different sister orders. In total, 59 missions in 16 different countries were presented to the public. See *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 44. See publicity for the exhibition in *La Presse*, 21 February 1942.

exhibition with their classes. About 200,000 French and 12,000 English brochures were distributed to announce the exhibition organized with the collaboration of the Ligue Étudiante Missionnaire.<sup>507</sup> Publicity material was distributed in 182 newspapers and magazines.<sup>508</sup> The Montréal exhibition also featured the film *Dans la Brousse* depicting life in Manchuria. At the same time, cinemas were running news clips of the war in China.<sup>509</sup> The General Superior of Manchuria, J.A. Roch, was invited to the exhibition. Lectures at the exhibition focused on Chinese arts and Chinese history and explained to the Montréal public why China was at war.<sup>510</sup> The exhibition was a great success as more and more people in Québec were becoming interested in Québec's involvement in China.

Québec's cultural life benefited from China during this period. Films and lectures on China were of great interest: Fernand Schetagne wrote a drama entitled *La Folle Aventure*<sup>511</sup> depicting missionary life in China. *La Folle Aventure* was staged at the Monument National with Paul Guévremont and Simone Dumont as Madame Manchoukou.<sup>512</sup> The play was turned into a film entitled *À La Croisée des Chemins*, in

---

<sup>507</sup> Edgar Larochelle, the organiser of the exhibition, was a missionary in Lintung Manchuria. *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 249.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>509</sup> The National Film Board (NFB) of Canada produced news releases projected just before the main features in cinemas. In addition, the NFB produced the film *Chine sous les armes* in 1941.

<sup>510</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 388.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85. Denise Pelletier acted in a secondary role. The play depicted how Chinese and Manchu women dressed, got married and prayed.

which Denise Pelletier made her film debut as the leading actress.<sup>513</sup> It was Québec's first fiction film with sound. Québec radio stations interviewed missionaries and filled the air with news from China missions; in particular, the radio drama *Reflets d'une mission* played in more than fifty radio shows.<sup>514</sup>

The war highlighted the divergence between Québec missionaries in China, with Québec Catholic remaining at their posts in China,<sup>515</sup> while many Québec Protestants retreated to "Free China" territory, some of the latter engaging in political activities in support of the GMD in Chongqing.<sup>516</sup> Québec Protestant missionary involvement in war efforts contrast greatly with Québec Catholic missionaries who did not get involved with the GMD. Madame Soong Meiling's work in Canada with Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries was highly publicized.<sup>517</sup> Orders from the Vatican curtailed any Québec Catholic involvement in the war effort. Québec missionaries were instructed to stay in their missions and to focus on evangelization and education.<sup>518</sup> This policy tied the Catholic missionary to the mission whatever the political situation. Relations between the

---

<sup>513</sup> *Index des films canadiens de long métrage, 1913-1985*, Archives publiques du Canada, 1987, p. 24. The film depicts how Paul Guevremont cancelled his wedding with Denise Pelletier to become a missionary to China.

<sup>514</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 89.

<sup>515</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa "Pourquoi ils restent" in *Le Brigand*, no. 110, February-March 1948. "Lors de l'affaire japonaise, les protestants (pas tous, il faut être juste, et parmi eux, j'en connais d'admirables) sont partis."

<sup>516</sup> McClure worked for the Red Cross Society.

<sup>517</sup> Ion. *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 230. "Madame Chiang Kai-shek made a personal effort to garner the support of the United Church of Canada as well as other missionary groups."

<sup>518</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 13, 1943, p. 414. Edgar Larochelle writes about Québec missionaries in Manchuria: "Ils se sont soumis avec joie à une directive du Saint-Siège qui leur demandait de tenir coûte que coûte."



Vatican and Japan permitted the Church to keep Québec Catholic missionaries posted in their China missions and they did not move to "Free China" territory during the Japanese occupation.<sup>519</sup> Québec Catholic missionaries stayed in their *tangli* (mission) until they were forced into house arrest once Canada had declared war on Japan.

During the Sino-Japanese War Québec missionaries could observe both the Japanese occupying forces and Wang Jing-wei's regime. They witnessed the self-imposed exile of much of the Chinese local elite, who joined either the GMD in Chongqing (Sichuan) or the CCP in Yan'an (Shanxi).<sup>520</sup> Québec missionaries perceived the Japanese occupation force to be mediocre in quality; missionaries reported that they were not seeing the best of the Japanese military.<sup>521</sup> The same negative comments were made about the Chinese elite who collaborated with Japan.<sup>522</sup> Some Québec missionaries said that the poor quality of Japanese soldiers impacted on Japanese behavior in China. Léo-Paul

---

<sup>519</sup> Québec missionaries would benefit from official diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Japan. *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 2, March-April 1941, p. 7. "Le P. Carrière est le Supérieur Région des Clercs Saint-Viateur au Mandchoukuo et le R.P. Drolet est le Directeur du Collège Saint-Viateur de Szepingkai depuis trois ans. Le collège est reconnu officiellement par le Ministre de l'Éducation du pays." The authority in Manchuria at the time was the Manchukuo puppet regime (1932-1945) with the last Qing Emperor Puyi (1905-1967) acting as figurehead.

<sup>520</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, pp. 157-158. The Frères Mariste established in 1891 the Collège Saint-François Xavier in Shanghai, "avant la guerre, il comptait environ 1 500 étudiants et qu'un grand nombre des hauts fonctionnaires de la ville, du moins avant l'occupation japonaise."

<sup>521</sup> Coiteux, p. 145. 16<sup>th</sup> December 1938, Arcand writes "Nos pères du Japon vantent beaucoup les gens de là-bas; c'est possible qu'ils aient raison en tout cas, ils gardent la crème et nous envoient ici la racaille pour nous faire la guerre."

<sup>522</sup> Wasserstein, p. 266. "In early August (1937) the Japanese established a "Peace Preservation Committee" composed of Chinese collaborators operating under the control of the local Japanese military." See also Rosairo Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 299. "Mais déjà, chez les collaborateurs projaponais, le pli était pris. Les premiers avaient volé sans vergogne et les Japonais qui les employaient et leurs concitoyens. Les nouveaux suivirent, en l'élargissant, la voie tracée. Du haut au bas de l'échelle administrative c'est à qui saisisait le plus gros magot."

Bourassa declared that the Japanese were making a clumsy show of force in China.<sup>523</sup> Missionaries who had privileged viewpoints were the Missions-Étrangères, the Clercs St-Viateurs and the MIC, who were posted in Sepingkai and Lintung in Manchuria. Protestant and Catholic Québec missionaries serving in Japan prior to the outbreak of hostilities between Canada and Japan also tried to explain Japanese actions in China.<sup>524</sup>

Japanese aggression in China divided Quebecers, some of whom attempted to influence public opinion in Québec against Japan. As the world put pressure on Japan to cease its military activities in China, point of views in Québec became more defined. In late 1938 the Montréal Presbyterian community pressured the Canadian government to work to end Japanese aggression in China.<sup>525</sup> This lobby was centered at McGill University where physicians and professors pressed for peace in China. In 1938 Dr. Grant Lathe of McGill was sent to China to participate in an academic survey on war in China. Dr. Lathe brought back from his trip to China a message from 70 Canadian missionaries in China (mainly Protestants), urging a Canadian boycott of Japanese goods.<sup>526</sup> On the other

---

<sup>523</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa, *L'Âme Japonaise* (Montréal: Éditions du Bien Public, 1941), p. 18. "Mauvaise humeur, brusquerie. J'attribue ce fait à un besoin mal compris de montrer sa force, son égalité ou sa supériorité. Ce qui a pour résultat très fâcheux, de donner, au contraire, l'impression d'une faiblesse qui essaie d'en imposer."

<sup>524</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, pp. 340-341. "As well as giving financial support to the Japanese Christian movement, during the 1930s Canadian missionaries in Japan attempted to counter the anti-Japanese stance of Canadian missionaries in China...The Japanese had lost the battle for public opinion in North America. In terms of East Asian crisis, the importance of foreign missionaries was not their impact in Japan but their influence on public opinion at home. Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists realized this importance and they won the support of North American public opinion." See also Urbain Cloutier, Clovis Rondeau and Bonaventure Péloquin for Québec Catholic comments on the Japanese.

<sup>525</sup> Lower, p. 28. "The Chinese [also] retorted through their Patriotic Associations, through the mass meetings already referred to, through distinguished visitors such as Dr. Tao Hengchie, who gave interviews in Montréal in March, 1938, and through such advertising devices as "boycott buttons."

<sup>526</sup> *The Gazette*, Vol. CLXVIII, no. 72, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1939.

hand, the secretary of the Nippon League of Montréal, Mr. Hayakawa, sent letters to journals "emphasizing that a boycott would destroy Canadian exports and thus injure Canadian pocketbooks"<sup>527</sup> Hayakawa was among the few Japanese to study at McGill University before the war.

Japanese actions in China appear to have reached few Québec intellectuals. Dr. Norman Bethune, Professor Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, and poet Alain Grandbois joined Member of Parliament J.S. Woodworth in denouncing Canadian complicity over the militarization of the Far East. Canadian sales of metal to Japan was fuelling its capacity for imperialist wars.

Norman Bethune became committed to the Chinese communists when leaving from Montréal in late 1937. It is to be remembered that it was in Montréal that Bethune's political and militant career began. Being a man of action, Bethune was one of the first physicians to demand free medicare in Canada, he also opened a free clinic in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, and created the Montréal Art School for Children. He was an inventor of surgical instruments and was the first to provide blood transfusion at the front during the Spanish Civil War. Bethune's involvement in the Spanish Civil War sharpened his sense of the importance of providing medical care at the front. Upon his return from a visit to the Soviet Union, Bethune addressed a crowd of many thousands at Mount Royal Arena and stressed the need to eradicate poverty, the root of sickness.<sup>528</sup> Bethune's affiliation

---

<sup>527</sup> Lower, p. 27.

<sup>528</sup> Depending on the source, the crowd varied from 8,000 to 15,000 persons.

with the Communist Party of Canada was not publicized in order to deter any negative reaction in his professional surroundings.<sup>529</sup> Professional and career options remained limited for Bethune,<sup>530</sup> so he decided to leave for China. Tim Buck, the leader of the Communist Party of Canada arranged Bethune's departure with help of his New York colleagues. Bethune reached Shaanxi and met Mao Zedong for a few hours in March 1938.<sup>531</sup> Soon afterwards, Bethune left for the front, performing surgery on soldiers soon after they were injured. After Bethune's death in November 1939, Mao Zedong wrote *In memory of Norman Bethune* in which he argued that "every communist must learn from him."<sup>532</sup>

Québec Protestant missionaries knew and talked about Bethune while Québec Catholic missionaries do not appear to have mentioned the work of the prominent Montréal surgeon in their writings. When Bethune arrived in China, Québec Protestant missionaries were well aware of his presence. In fact, he met with several Québec missionaries before heading to the communist guerrilla base in Yan'an, Shaanxi. Munroe Scott's biography of the Canadian missionary, Dr. McClure, shows that Protestant

---

<sup>529</sup> Bethune became a member of the Communist Party of Canada (Montréal section) in November 1935. See Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson "Comrade Beth" in Wendell MacLeod, Libbie Park and Stanley Ryerson, *Bethune: The Montreal Years* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Publishers, 1978), p. 145.

<sup>530</sup> Stewart, pp. 143-150.

<sup>531</sup> Allan & Gordon, p. 186.

<sup>532</sup> *Oeuvres choisies de Mao Tse-toung*, Beijing: Éditions de langues étrangères, 1967, pp. 359-361. Bethune's fight against Japan would become memorialized in the little Red Book, the Bible of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. See *Quotations from chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), p. 177.

missionaries were aware of Bethune and openly talked about his activities.<sup>533</sup> Bethune biographies by Roderick Stewart<sup>534</sup> and Ted Allan/Sydney Gordon<sup>535</sup> recall Bethune's work in China and his contacts with missionaries concerned with medicine. In Québec Catholic sources, Bethune is absent because he was a communist. Of all the sources consulted, only one author mentions Bethune. It was not until 1982 that Rosario Renaud mentions Bethune in his book on the Québec Jesuit mission in Xuzhou.<sup>536</sup>

Québec sources became much more positive about Chiang Kai-shek and the GMD once the Japanese had occupied large parts of China. Support for Chiang was important not only because of the war situation, but also because of concerns about the emergence of the Chinese communist movement. The CCP was seen by some Québec missionaries as the only remaining force capable of competing with the GMD for popular support against Japan. So for many Québec Catholic missionaries, Chiang Kai-shek suddenly became a good Christian.<sup>537</sup> By exchanging ambassadors in 1943, the Vatican moved to recognize the GMD because it provided a defense against communism.<sup>538</sup> Jean Tung published an

---

<sup>533</sup> Scott, pp. 230-231.

<sup>534</sup> Roderick Stewart, *The Mind of Norman Bethune* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1990).

<sup>535</sup> Ted Allen, *The Scalpel, the Sword: the Story of Doctor Norman Bethune* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989).

<sup>536</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 321.

<sup>537</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 2, March-April 1944, p. 65. "C'est grâce à notre grand chef, le Maréchal Chiang Kai-shek que la jeune Chine s'est levée et qu'elle est devenue aujourd'hui une des principales forces du monde en guerre. Le Maréchal Chiang Kai-shek n'appartient pas à l'Église catholique mais c'est un chrétien convaincu et qui ne craint pas de montrer à quelle source il puise les nobles sentiments qui inspirent sa conduite et son action."

<sup>538</sup> Gervais, p. 124. "Tchang Kai-shek s'adresse au monde: le Saint-Père Pie XII, par l'intermédiaire de l'ambassadeur de Chine, faisait transmettre à Tchang ses sentiments de sympathie et sa bénédiction [...] l'immense Chine païenne serait gouverné par un chef chrétien authentique dont le langage, d'inspiration

optimistic article in *Le Brigand*, praising Chiang's regime as a new era for Catholicism in China.<sup>539</sup> The new Québec magazine *Relations* said that Chiang, after chasing the communists from their Jiangxi stronghold, achieved much success by reunifying the country until the Japanese intervened.<sup>540</sup> The *Missions-Étrangères du Québec* also published positive comments about Chiang's appreciation of Catholic missionaries.<sup>541</sup> The Chinese Catholic leader Lo Pahong offered Chiang Kai-shek two ambulance planes and created the Chinese War Relief Association.<sup>542</sup> During this period, the tone of Québec publications became more positive towards Chiang Kai-shek<sup>543</sup> and Québec's missionary criticism was reserved mainly for the collaborationist regime of Wang Jingwei (1940-

---

chrétienne, ne laissait pas de doute sur la sincérité de ses sentiments envers l'Église et les apôtres missionnaires."

<sup>539</sup> Jean Tung, s.j., "L'avenir du catholicisme en Chine" in *Le Brigand*, no. 101, March 1947. L'Église catholique est maintenant universellement respectée et profondément admirée des Chinois. L'an dernier, le général Chiang Kai-shek s'adressant à une nouvelle promotion d'officiers leur disait ces paroles: "Je me propose de vous donner un modèle pour vos vies d'officier de la République. Ce modèle, c'est le prêtre catholique missionnaire tel qu'on le trouve en Chine. [...] C'est donc une ère nouvelle qui commence pour le catholicisme en Chine."

<sup>540</sup> *Relations*, vol. 4, no. 48, pp. 333-334. "Alors, le Japon qui en 1931 avait envahie la Mandchourie, attaque la Chine, et l'oeuvre colossale d'unification nationale fut interrompue. Dans l'intervalle, Chiang avait fait des prodiges [...] tous les missionnaires chinois sont intarissables pour louer le généralissime. Sous l'influence de Chiang Kai-shek, la Chine était en marche, pour la première fois depuis des siècles vers la paix et la prospérité, quand le Japon l'attaqua."

<sup>541</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 12, p. 390. In an article written by Paul Yupin vicaire apostolique of Nanking at the Vatican on August 18<sup>th</sup> 1945: "Le généralissime Chiang Kai-shek a déjà lancé un appel public à tous les missionnaires assurant que nous les considérons pas comme des étrangers mais comme les collaborateurs et les sauveurs de notre peuple."

<sup>542</sup> Poisson, pp. 50-51. "En juillet 1937, le lamentable conflit qui met aux prises, depuis la Chine et le Japon. Répondant immédiatement à l'appel lancé par les évêques, il mettait bientôt sur pied la Société catholique chinoise de Secours aux victimes de la guerre, la Catholic Chinese War Relief Association, en faveur, surtout, des blessés et des réfugiés, société dont il assumait la présidence. [...] Lo offrait pour sa part au généralissime deux avions équipés pour le service d'ambulance. Des fanatiques l'assassinaient à Shanghai le 30 décembre 1937, au moment où il sortait de chez un ami, rue Dubail, dans la concession française."

<sup>543</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. "C'était à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de naissance du maréchal Chiang Kai-shek, ce chef vraiment national qui a fait une Chine nouvelle et dont son pays est, à juste titre, si fier."

1944).<sup>544</sup> Canada did not recognize the legitimacy of Wang Jingwei's government; instead, the Department of External Affairs' was preparing to recognize the GMD government which was exiled in Chongqing. Chiang's decision to relocate the government in Chongqing<sup>545</sup> forced the Japanese deep into Chinese territory.<sup>546</sup> His decision not to fight Japan contrasted with the communists'<sup>547</sup> preference for military engagement, which demonstrated their courage and gave credibility to their propaganda.<sup>548</sup>

Québec and foreign missionary schools in China became the center of Chinese student protest against the Japanese occupation. Lionel Groulx described the Québec Jesuit

---

C'était le moment, pour la Chine entière, de se serrer autour du généralissime et de lui prouver son attachement ému et filial."

<sup>544</sup> See John H. Boyle, *China and Japan, 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972) and Gerald E. Bunker, *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ch'ing-wei and the China War, 1937-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

<sup>545</sup> Levy, p. 198. "The fleeing Chinese government had relocated to Chongqing in Sichuan province. Wu's convoy joined the capital of Free China in January [1938]." Wu was the mayor of Shanghai at the time of the Japanese attack and employed Two-gun Cohen. When the retreat to Chongqing was done, Cohen (p. 199) "flew to Hong Kong in mid-February 1939. There he established Wu's headquarters... finding weapons and gasoline for the troops where he could." In Hong Kong, Cohen also acted as the bodyguard of Soong Qingling, widow of Sun Yat-sen, where she (p. 202) "conducted her relief work, collecting funds, foodstuff, medical supplies, and clothing for the wounded and the needy; Cohen's guns bulged beneath his jacket as a warning to anyone who wished her arm."

<sup>546</sup> Ibid., p. 202. Two Gun Cohen noted that "China could not militarily beat Japan, he told the consul general that the nation did have capable allies such as malaria and dysentery, which he noted were taking a heavy toll on the Japanese."

<sup>547</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 111. "Le revirement tient, en haut lieu, à la politique d'apaisement intérieur de Chiang Kaishek, à sa conversion au christianisme et à l'appui moral que lui apporte l'église dans sa lutte contre le communisme."

<sup>548</sup> Dragon, *En mission*, p. 66. "Tout en combattant l'ennemi commun, les communistes ont pris position. Quand les troupes nationalistes chinoises de Chungking reculaient vers le sud, sous la pression japonaise, les communistes restaient sur place; déguisés en paysans, ils harcelaient les Japonais. Prirent les villes ensuite au retrait."

mission in Xuzhou as an anti-Japanese fortress.<sup>549</sup> Hamish Ion explains that missions in Manchuria also served for Korean protest during the Japanese occupation.<sup>550</sup> Québec Catholic missionary Antonio Dragon wrote that:

Le collège fonctionna jusqu'à l'arrivée des Japonais, en 1938. La prise de la ville, le pillage, avec les meurtres et le reste, n'empêchèrent pas le collège d'ouvrir ses portes en septembre; les enfants s'inscrivirent par centaines...Par ailleurs, le collège Saint-Louis, dirigé par des britanniques, faisait presque figure d'institution antijaponaise, et les meilleures familles de la ville, qui refusaient de pactiser avec l'ennemi, nous amenaient leurs fils.<sup>551</sup>

The attitude of the Canadian government during the Sino-Japanese War (prior to World War Two) was ambiguous. Canada preferred to ignore the growing tensions in Asia, refusing to see that its actions were encouraging militarism. Nickel that was sold to Japan during this period was used to produce bullets that were used on Canadian soldiers in Hong Kong.<sup>552</sup> Notwithstanding the obvious, before 1941 the Canadian government refused to restrict Canadian trade with Asia. The lack of restrictions on Canadian exports to Japan after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria continued to encourage major Canadian

---

<sup>549</sup> Groulx, p. 92. "Le collège n'en prend pas moins l'aspect d'une forteresse antijaponaise. Les sympathies chinoises l'enserrent, lui font un rempart. Ses cours d'anglais suivis parfois par des officiers supérieurs, des généraux, achèvent de lui gagner l'estime publique"

<sup>550</sup> Hamish Ion published three books on Canadian missionaries in Japan and its empire that constitute a detailed account on how Canadian missionaries in Japan and Korea dealt with the war. His studies focus on Protestant missionaries, including those from Québec, but leaves catholic sources unexamined. See bibliography.

<sup>551</sup> Dragon, *En mission*, p. 41. The author also writes p. 42. "Le collège Saint-Louis avait mieux que toutes les autres écoles chinoises lutté contre la pénétration des idées japonaises."

<sup>552</sup> Woodworth p. 301. McClure wrote to his wife "is it ironical that Canadian soldiers in Hong Kong got their first dose of Canadian nickel coated bullets and propelled by powder made from Canadian cellulose just exactly, to the date, one year after I had been to Ottawa for talking on that subject!"



companies, banks, and merchants to do business with Japan, even when that business fueled armament.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and the Republic of China in 1942 added another dimension to Québec's involvement in China. After 1939 Canadian Prime Minister MacKenzie King began to consider extending diplomatic recognition to China.<sup>553</sup> The establishment of the Wang Jingwei's "puppet" government in Nanjing (1940) by the Japanese did not convince the world that it was a legitimate government; Canada preferred to establish full relations with the GMD in Chongqing.<sup>554</sup> In the autumn of 1942, the exchange of ambassadors between China and Canada made the bilateral relationship official. Ottawa appointed Victor W. Odlum<sup>555</sup> as Canada's first ambassador to China after the GMD had sent Liu Shi-shun to Ottawa, to act as China's ambassador to Canada.<sup>556</sup>

The Québec missionary presence in East Asia at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War posed a certain problem for the Canadian diplomatic bureaucracy. Canadian missionaries who remained in China and particularly in Japanese controlled areas were

---

<sup>553</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 19. "King was still extremely tentative about adding diplomatic to commercial agent in China [1939]. If peace and trade produced little policy-related activity, oriental immigration was another matter altogether."

<sup>554</sup> Nossal, p. 2. "Exchange of notes 31 July 1941, Canada should seek diplomatic representation in Chungking at a ministerial level."

<sup>555</sup> Ibid., p. 88. "The official announcement of Odlum's (1880-1971) appointment was made on 4 November 1942 by ML King at a press conference in Ottawa." See, George F. Menally, "Odlum: Canada's First Ambassador to China." M.A. Thesis. University of Alberta, 1977.

<sup>556</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 23. Shulman, p. 13. The Qing dynasty had established relations with Canada in 1909.

informed that they faced imprisonment and greater harassment by Japanese authorities.<sup>557</sup> In 1940 a new regional college, under the patronage of the Missions Étrangères du Québec opened in the Manchukuo capital of Xinjing under Puyi, the last Emperor.<sup>558</sup> When British authorities offered Québec missionaries the opportunity to leave China, the Quebecers declined to leave.<sup>559</sup> The first offer came in 1940 when a British ship, anchored in the port of Dairen, was about to leave for America.<sup>560</sup> The British Consul of Mukden proposed the evacuation to Canadian and American missionaries and they accepted, but the Québec Catholic missionaries refused the offer.<sup>561</sup> The Women's Missionary Society, with an office in Montréal, would have preferred to remain in China despite the danger, but finally left.<sup>562</sup> When Canada declared war to Japan in December 1941 almost all Catholic missionaries remained in Manchuria, including numerous Québec missionaries.<sup>562</sup> There were about one hundred Québec missionaries involved in

---

<sup>557</sup> Groulx, p. 93. "Fin d'octobre [1939], une sentinelle japonaise tire sur le frère Edgar Gauvin, s. j., et le tue, mais par méprise."

<sup>558</sup> *Missions Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1941, p. 11. "Avril 1940, un grand séminaire régional ouvrait ses portes à Hsin-King, capitale de l'État Mandchou." *Missions Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1941, p. 7. "Le P. Carrière est le Supérieur Région des Clercs Saint-Viateur au Mandchoukuo et le R.P. Drolet est le Directeur du Collège Saint-Viateur de Szepingkai depuis trois ans."

<sup>559</sup> Hélène-Andrée Bizier, *Le noir et le rouge*, Montréal: Édition Libre Expression, 1995, pp. 106-107.

<sup>560</sup> Groulx, p. 116. "Dès octobre 1940 cette heure s'en vient. Les menaces d'une guerre d'Extrême-Orient et du Pacifique se précisent. Le consul anglais de Moudken, la délégation apostolique s'alarment. Que vont décider les missionnaires? Missionnaires américains et canadiens décident de rester." Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 279. "Indeed, as early as October 1940, the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa had been trying to impress upon the WMS [Women Missionary Society] that its missionaries in Japan were "running chances that may well result in complications and trouble for the Government as well as hardship and, perhaps, danger for themselves" by continuing their work as long as possible."

<sup>561</sup> Ion. *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 280. "This message did not sit well with the Women Missionary Society missionaries, but the headquarters in Toronto had decided that they must be evacuated."

<sup>562</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 13, 1943, p. 414. Edgar Larochelle writes "Même le gouvernement canadien et le consul anglais du Manchukuo avaient insisté auprès d'eux [Québec missionaries] pour les rapatrier. Ils avaient vu les missionnaires protestants plier bagage et se hâter de quitter

Manchuria before December 1941,<sup>563</sup> and about 90% of Canadian Catholic missionaries involved in China were from Québec.<sup>564</sup> Canadian diplomat Arthur Menzies, who arrived in Chongqing in 1942 to arrange diplomatic recognition, indicated that the new Canadian Embassy should be under no pressure from Canadian missionary groups or Canadian merchants to conduct its work.<sup>565</sup> Nevertheless, the fate of missionaries was to become one of the principal preoccupations of Canada's first diplomats in China.

Canada became much more active during the second phase of the Sino-Japanese War. By 1941 the Canadian government had begun to press Japan to withdraw from China and it had begun to impose restrictions on trade with Japanese-controlled China. In Canada Prime Minister MacKenzie King introduced restrictions on sales to Japan and moved to seize Japanese assets in Canada.<sup>566</sup> The tension resulting from such measures made the future of Québec missionaries in Japanese-occupied China very precarious notwithstanding Japanese relations with the Vatican.

---

le pays. Mais les missionnaires canadiens n'ont pas voulu quitter leurs postes ni abandonner leurs Chrétiens. Ils se sont soumis avec joie à une directive du Saint-Siège qui leur demandait de tenir coûte que coûte."

<sup>563</sup> Groulx, pp. 123-125. 51 Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception had worked in Manchuria before 1941. When Canada declared war against Japan, the Saint-Viateur College was renamed the Orient Commercial High School, and "La langue japonaise y devient la langue dominante. En 1941 le collège fini par obtenir du Ministère de l'éducation la reconnaissance officielle. [...] Grâce à son état civil, le collège pourra fonctionner jusqu'en 1945 sous une direction japonaise." According to *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 12, p. 390, there were 48 missionaries of the Missions-Étrangères: 35 in Seping kai and 13 in Lintung." Groulx adds (p. 117) 10 Brothers Saint-Viateur, 48 Soeurs MIC, and 25 Soeurs de Notre-Dame du Rosaire."

<sup>564</sup> Austin, p. 148. "Fully seven-eighth of the Canadian Catholic missionaries to China, 389 out of 446 in 1941, were members of French-Canadian orders."

<sup>565</sup> Nossal, p. 105. Menzies said "the Legation should not be identified with Canadian missionary activities, with Canada commercial interests, or with any other specialized Canadian group that may develop."

Canada's military engagement during the Sino-Japanese War began in the autumn of 1941.<sup>567</sup> The Canadian government took measures to create a military unit that would join the Allied force protecting Hong Kong, the British colony in Southeast China.<sup>568</sup> At the time, the Canadian government believed that Japan was in no position to attack Hong Kong. Ted Ferguson,<sup>569</sup> Lyman Duff,<sup>570</sup> Serge Bernier,<sup>571</sup> and Pierre Vennat,<sup>572</sup> all of

---

<sup>566</sup> Ibid., p. 39. "Cabinet restricted the sale of wheat to Japan; in March, a restriction was placed on timber. In July 1941, relations between Ottawa and Tokyo had deteriorated further: the Canadian government joined Washington and London in freezing Japanese assets."

<sup>567</sup> C.P. Stacey, *The Canadian Army, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Ministry of National Defence, 1948), p. 273. "The possibility of Canada's contributing to the security of Hong Kong was first suggested by the British Government in September, 1941, a little less than three months before the Japanese attack."

<sup>568</sup> Pierre Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés: L'histoire inédite des militaires canadiens-français de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, Tome I (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1997), p. 284. "Mackenzie King avait déclaré que «la défense contre l'agression actuelle ou menace dans n'importe qu'elle partie du monde fait aujourd'hui partie de la défense de tout pays qui jouit encore de la liberté» et que c'est en vertu de ce point de vue que le gouvernement canadien avait décidé de faire sa part et d'envoyer des troupes à Hong Kong, suivant en cela les autres pays du Commonwealth qui avaient envoyé des troupes en Orient."

<sup>569</sup> Ted Ferguson, *Desperate Siege: the Battle of Hong Kong* (Toronto: Double Day & Company, 1968), p. vii. "The Hong Kong expedition was a shameful tragedy."

<sup>570</sup> Lyman P. Duff, *Report on the Canadian Expeditionary Force to the Crown Colony of Hong Kong* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier Éditeur, 1942), p. 16. "In September and October, 1941, it was the accepted view, both in England and Canada, that war with Japan was not imminent."

<sup>571</sup> Serge Bernier in Georges Verreault, *Prisonnier de guerre au Japon, 1941-1945* (Montréal: Septentrion, 1993), p. 9. "Comment les autorités canadiennes ont-elles pu engager près de deux mille Canadiens dans cette cause perdue d'avance? Cela reste encore un mystère. Comment a-t-on pu croire à l'automne 1941, que ces soldats, dont la vaste majorité avaient servi de garnison en Jamaïque et à Terre-Neuve, iraient remplir le même rôle en Chine, alors que les tensions avec le Japon augmentaient jour après jour? Le lecteur prendra connaissance d'un des résultats possibles découlant d'une mauvaise décision politico-militaire..."

<sup>572</sup> The sub-title "Une cause perdue d'avance" given in Vennat's book reflects the view of the author. Only a month before Pearl Harbor (December 8 1941 Hong Kong time), the Canadian and British military estimation of the Far East scenario was based on false presumptions. Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome I, p. 284. "On soutint alors que la situation en Orient avait changé, que la défense de la Malaisie avait été renforcée et que le Japon montrait une certaine faiblesse en face des États-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne. On crut donc que les renforts envoyés à Hong Kong serviraient à décourager des actions hostiles du Japon et qu'ils auraient également un effet moral important partout en Extrême-Orient en rassurant les Chinois sous les ordres de Chiang Kai-Shek, sur les intentions de la Grande-Bretagne de garder la colonie."

whom wrote about the Canadian military experience in Hong Kong, share the view that the improvised Canadian battalion was not prepared to face the Japanese during the December attack. The new task force consisted of 1,985 soldiers coming from the Winnipeg Grenadiers and the Royal Rifles of Canada located in Québec City.<sup>573</sup> Training began in Québec two months prior to departure for Hong Kong on October 27<sup>th</sup> 1941.<sup>574</sup> Just as Québec soldiers begin to leave for the Orient, Montréal's economy began to militarize.<sup>575</sup> Due to its safe location, Montréal became an important economic center for the production of military products during the war period.

The Japanese attack on Hong Kong in late 1941 triggered a declaration of war by Canada against Japan. Japanese forces finally attacked Hong Kong on December 7<sup>th</sup> 1941, capturing Hong Kong on Christmas day, and taking 1,689 Canadian prisoners.<sup>576</sup> During a final ruthless raid, Canadian wounded soldiers lying in hospital beds were killed

---

<sup>573</sup> The Royal Rifles of Canada were a bilingual contingent mainly composed of anglophones from Québec City and the Eastern townships and francophones from Québec City and the Gaspésie. Pierre Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome I, p. 282. Peter Wing, a Montrealer, also took part in the contingent. He was one of the few *métis* that served in the war. See Verreault, p. 157. "Peter Wing [...] travaille avec moi. Sa mère est canadienne française et son père, mort depuis quelques années, était un Chinois."

<sup>574</sup> Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome I, p. 285. "La plupart de ces troupiers sont d'anciens cultivateurs, pêcheurs ou bûcherons qui n'ont commencé à voyager que depuis la guerre et qui considèrent leur mission en Extrême-Orient comme une aventure."

<sup>575</sup> Bill Twatio, *Esprit de corps*, vol. 8, no. 3. Canadian military magazine. "It is estimated that "tens of thousands migrated to Montreal to find work in war industries, accelerating Québec's development into an urban and industrial society. Between 1941 and 1945, 5,500 tanks, armored personnel carriers and self-propelled guns rolled off the production lines at the CPR Angus Shops and Montreal Locomotive Works – more than were built by Italy and Japan combined."

<sup>576</sup> See Lyman P. Duff, p. 11. *La Presse*, 21 December 1996. 550 of those soldiers would die during combat or during interment in Japanese camps. For the best account of life in the Japanese camp consult Pierre Verreault. *Prisonnier de guerre au Japon, 1941-1945*. Verreault's four year detention (Hong Kong 1941-1943, Japan 1943-1945) reveals life in the camp, the softball games, work in the mine, hunger, disease and hope.

by Japanese troops.<sup>577</sup> Almost all Canadian soldiers were imprisoned in Hong Kong. Only a single soldier managed to escape the Japanese camp. Ben Proulx joined the GMD air force for a month before returning to Québec.<sup>578</sup> “Two Gun” Cohen did not escape the Japanese forces that interrogated and detained him.<sup>579</sup> He was in Hong Kong to purchase some arms, hoping to gather military supplies for the GMD in Chongqing. Meanwhile, the Japanese were on the offensive in Indochina. The French Vichy regime agreed to stop the shipment of military equipment to the GMD via its Kunming-Hanoi railway. The GMD preferred to cut off the railway rather than risk of Japanese using the railway for military purposes.<sup>580</sup> Chiang Kai-shek would need to find another route to supply the Chinese resistance. The Burma Road was therefore opened, and further talks with India<sup>581</sup> ultimately led to the creation of the “Flying Tigers” and the Himalayan Hump lifeline to supply Chongqing. The GMD capital nevertheless remained isolated,

---

<sup>577</sup> Levy, p. 215. “56 wounded British and Canadians soldiers were stabbed to death at St. Stephen’s Casualty Hospital.”

<sup>578</sup> Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome I, p. 295. “[Proulx] réussi à s’évader d’un camp japonais et rejoint les forces chinoises de Chiang Kai-shek. Photographié par les médias dans son uniforme de l’aviation chinoise où il avait servi pendant un mois avant de revenir au Canada. [...] Silence sur son évasion car Florence, sa femme, fille d’un ancien fonctionnaire du gouvernement anglais de Hong Kong et ses deux enfants Roger et Michel détenus par les Japonais.”

<sup>579</sup> Levy, p. 215. “While Cohen said that China could not militarily beat Japan, he told the consul general that the nation did have capable allies such as malaria and dysentery, which he noted were taking a heavy toll on the Japanese. Following Batavia, the group headed to Singapore and on to Rangoon. Cohen and Wu then drove to Lashio and flew to Chongqing, arriving in the spring of 1941. In April, Wu became secretary of the Guomindang. Cohen stayed in town for a few weeks before heading back to Hong Kong, reportedly to discuss British-Chinese cooperation.”

<sup>580</sup> Granger, p. 76.

<sup>581</sup> Chiang Kai-shek would visit India in February 1942 to assure that India would join China in combating Japan. Chiang met Nehru (1889-1964), Gandhi (1869-1948), Tilak (1876-1948) and other Indian nationalists. His visit did not make unanimity for he called for British cooperation while the Indians were pressuring independence from the British Commonwealth. On the other hand, China and India would establish diplomatic recognition. See W. Duffett, A.R. Hicks, and G. R. Parkin, *L’Inde d’aujourd’hui* (Montréal: Éditions Bernard Valiquette, 1944), p. 152. Jérôme Cugnet translated this study of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

but the Chinese saw hope when they learned of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack, which assured that the involvement of the Americans in the Pacific War was imminent.

The Canadian declaration of war against Japan on December 8<sup>th</sup> 1941 redefined the context for Québec's missionary community in China. From the Japanese perspective, not just the soldiers, but also the missionaries and others nationals of their enemies were their enemies. Despite Japan/Vatican relations, missionaries of the Allied countries were therefore considered the enemies of Japan.<sup>582</sup> At the beginning of World War Two, the new situation had little impact on curtailing Québec missionary activity in some Chinese areas.<sup>583</sup> In early 1942 the Québec Jesuit China journal *Le Brigand* wrote that the Japanese authorities in China had not bothered them.<sup>584</sup> However, missionaries' freedom of movement became more restricted.<sup>585</sup> Missionaries were asked to remain in their *tangli* and only to leave their compounds to obtain basic necessities.<sup>586</sup> Not all missionaries were

---

<sup>582</sup> *Relations*, vol. 2, no. 13, 1942, p. 14. It is estimated that about 500 Quebecers, mainly missionaries and soldiers, were detained by Japan during the war. See Rosario Renaud, *Süchow '48*. Montréal: Procure des Missions, 1949, p. 5. See also *Süchow Nouvelles*, vol. 4, numéro spécial, September 1942, p. 2. "Du fait de leur nationalité, la majorité des missionnaires du Süchow se trouvaient automatiquement classés parmi les sujet ennemis."

<sup>583</sup> Supplement to the first edition of the *Missions-Étrangères du Québec* (1941), p. XXIII. "Cela [war] ne les a nullement arrêtés dans leurs activités, ils vont partout là où ils peuvent faire du bien et implanter l'église."

<sup>584</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 80, May 1942. "Nos relations avec le Gouvernement [Japanese] sont très bonnes, nos oeuvres fonctionnent à plein, nous ne subissons aucune restriction, ni pour l'argent ni pour le reste, bref, bien des Canadiens trouveraient fort agréable l'atmosphère de Suchow [Xuzhou]."

<sup>585</sup> Antonio Dragon, *Le Père Bernard* (Montréal: Le Messager Canadien, 1948), p. 174. In Shangdong, Father Bernard was immediately confined to his compound after the Pearl Harbor attack. The same could be said about the *Missions-Étrangères du Québec* in Manchuria: see *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 17, September-October 1946, p. 596. "Le 13 décembre 1941, le camp de Szepingkai, au Petit Séminaire des Missions Canadiennes de Mandchourie, 123 missionnaires, prêtres et frères, devaient s'y trouver concentrés."

affected the same way by the Japanese occupation. Some women missionaries enjoyed greater freedom of movement.<sup>587</sup> They provided social services for war refugees, and helped to contain social unrest.<sup>588</sup> Nevertheless, all Québec missionaries in China were considered to be Japan's enemies.

The imprisonment of Quebecers in China by Japanese authorities must be seen in the context of war in which Japanese civilians were detained in Canada during the same period. Quebecers detained in China had very different experiences. Soldiers who served in Hong Kong suffered greatly from hunger, work, and hardship and many died.<sup>589</sup> In early 1943 the Québec Royal Rifles were transferred from Hong Kong to work in Japan's mines. However, Québec civilians and missionaries in China and Japan were not assigned to Japanese labour camps. On the other hand, Mackenzie King's government decided on February 24<sup>th</sup> 1942 to proceed with the forced evacuation of the Japanese

---

<sup>586</sup> Groulx, p. 97. "Le 8 décembre 1941 éclate comme un coup de foudre la déclaration de guerre du Japon aux États-Unis. D'autres malheurs s'enchaînent. Aussitôt les missionnaires américains et canadiens sont constitués prisonniers de guerre. Internement au début peu onéreux, qui laisse possible la continuation des oeuvres: retraites fermées au couvent, etc." Coiteux, p. 149. "Du 8 décembre 1941 au 29 octobre 1942, le P. Arcand et Mgr Durand n'étaient pas internés mais ils ont dû limiter leurs activités à Chefoo, ensuite Pékin."

<sup>587</sup> Mahomey, p. 245. "Arrestations au lendemain de Pearl Harbor. Les soeurs continuèrent d'y mener leur vie ordinaire durant les quatre années suivantes, mais sans aucune possibilité de communiquer, pas même avec Hopo et Chao-Chow-fu. Dès le début de 1943, toute communication avec l'extérieur était devenue impossible." Some women missionaries were interned as well. Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, p. 313. "The Sumire internment camp held 124 women, including some twenty French Canadian nuns." They left aboard the Gripsholm in 1942.

<sup>588</sup> Groulx, p. 100. "Pendant l'occupation japonaise, seules entre les étrangers, les MIC continuent leur oeuvre à Canton. Leur charité trouve amplement à s'occuper. La prise de Hong Kong rejette les Chinois par millier vers le lieu de leur mission et y accroît la misère. Infatigables les religieuses se portent partout, dans les rues, dans les hôpitaux, jusque sous les ponts. Elles n'abandonnent point leur école de Shameen, ni celle du Saint-Esprit où 600 élèves affluent. Fermée après la déclaration de guerre au Japon en 1941, l'école de Shameen se transporte sur la concession française."

<sup>589</sup> Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome I, p. 298. "Jusqu'au début de 1943, les Canadiens furent détenus dans des camps situés à Hong Kong. 125 meurent en captivité."



residing in strategic areas of Canada, basically British Columbia. This Canadian government action was taken because of consideration of defense, local pressure, and paranoia. More than 90% of the 22,000 Japanese Canadian population were relocated to camps outside British Columbia.<sup>590</sup> Before the relocation scheme, only 48 Japanese had lived in Québec.<sup>591</sup> The relocation process in Eastern Canada (Ontario and Québec) met with mixed results.<sup>592</sup> The reluctance of Japanese Canadians to migrate to Québec basically resulted from the fear of isolation.<sup>593</sup> As the war dragged on, more and more Japanese were sent to Québec by Canadian authorities.<sup>594</sup> From a 100 in 1943, the Japanese Canadian population of Québec reached 334 on the first of January 1944.<sup>595</sup> Quebecers became increasingly concerned about the presence of the Japanese in Québec. The *Montréal Star*'s editorial claimed that the 18,000 Canadian-born Japanese could not be trusted in British Columbia. There was "no room for them in British Columbia, no room for them in any province of this Dominion."<sup>596</sup> In August 1944 Mackenzie King

---

<sup>590</sup> Peter Ward, *Les Japonais au Canada* (Ottawa: Société historique du Canada, 1982), p. 15.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>592</sup> Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 284. "But despite attempts at persuasion and inducement, the movement east of the Rockies never gained popularity."

<sup>593</sup> Barry Broadfoot, *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame. The Story of the Japanese Canadians in World War II* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1977), p. 282-283. The author recalls the story of a young Japanese woman who arrived in Montréal, worked as a domestic, and committed suicide.

<sup>594</sup> Adachi, p. 288. "Of 240 Nisei working in Montréal by the end of 1943, 74 of them were either domestics or cooks, the rest involved in miscellaneous jobs in factories, garages and dry cleaners."

<sup>595</sup> Ibid., p. 416.

<sup>596</sup> *Montreal Star*, vol. LXXVI, no. 117, May 17<sup>th</sup> 1944.

issued a statement that encouraged the Japanese to relocate in Québec.<sup>597</sup> In the later part of the war and immediately after, the Canadian Department of Labour sent Japanese civilians to Farnham, Québec to await relocation.<sup>598</sup> These compounds were intended to keep track of the return to civilian life of the Japanese population in Québec.<sup>599</sup>

After World War Two few of the Japanese asked to be repatriated to Japan, and most chose to remain in Canada.<sup>600</sup> King's policy to relocate the Japanese throughout Canada generated a significant presence of the Japanese in Québec, surpassing one thousand.<sup>601</sup> Those who helped the *Nisei* (second generation) Japanese in Montréal were basically the Christian missionaries<sup>602</sup> and the Jewish community, the latter by employing them.<sup>603</sup> The Japanese population of Montréal agreed that it should meet discreetly to avoid suspicion and even rejected the establishment of a *Nisei* organization in Montréal.<sup>604</sup>

---

<sup>597</sup> Pringsheim. *Neighbours Across the Pacific*, p. 85. MacKenzie King said "that those adjudged to have been loyal would be permitted to remain in Canada but would be encouraged to settle in provinces other than British Columbia."

<sup>598</sup> Pringsheim. *Neighbours Across the Pacific*, p. 83.

<sup>599</sup> Adachi, p. 338.

<sup>600</sup> Pringsheim, *Neighbours Across the Pacific*, p. 78. The first group of 42 Japanese to return to Japan left Montréal aboard the ship Gripsholm for an exchange of prisoners among which were the Canadian diplomats of the Tokyo legation and about seventy missionaries.

<sup>601</sup> Adachi, p. 416. By the first of January 1947, there was 1 247 Japanese in Québec. In comparison, there was about 2 378 Chinese in Québec in 1941 (Canadian Census).

<sup>602</sup> Ibid., p. 292. The Protestants managed the Christian Fellowship Group in Montréal.

<sup>603</sup> *Centre Culturel Canado-Japonais de Montréal* (Montréal: [s.n.], 1986), p. 129. "Looking for my first job, I went to a lot of Anglo-Saxon CA (Chartered Accountant) firms, but they weren't taking us...I finally found a job with a Jewish firm...They're more sympathetic." - Kim Nakashima, Montréal *Nisei*.

<sup>604</sup> Adachi, p. 291. *Centre Culturel Canado-Japonais de Montréal*, p. 133.

After the Canadian declaration of the war against Japan, Québec missionary organizations were unable to send new recruits to China. During the summer of 1942, all male missionaries were confined to their compounds in Japanese-controlled China.<sup>605</sup> In late 1942, the Japanese moved some Québec missionaries stationed in Manchuria to Yokohama to facilitate future exchange of prisoners.<sup>606</sup> By February 1943 Québec missionaries in central China were being placed with other missionaries in larger compounds that were easier to control.<sup>607</sup> Missionaries were not expected to work in the labour camps. Their detention provided them with time to evaluate their involvement in China. To fight boredom, some missionaries played music, wrote, played sports, and most of them improved their knowledge of the Chinese writing.<sup>608</sup> Zikawei in Shanghai

---

<sup>605</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 30. In Manchuria, such a compound contained "72 missionnaires internés. Avec Fortin Boisvert se trouvaient trois autres Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception et une Antonienne de Marie." *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 7, p. 237. "Décembre 1943 M. Roland Boulé était rapatrié à bord du Gripsholm. Quelques soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception et une Antonienne de Marie revinrent avec lui.

<sup>606</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 1, no. 13, p. 416. "Le Département des Affaires extérieures à Ottawa ne vient il pas de nous faire savoir que cinq de nos missionnaires; MM Clovis Boisvert, Oscar Fortin, Fernand Guibault, Émilien Houde et Georges Vaillancourt ont été déportés du Mandchoukuo au Japon dans un camp d'internement à Yokohama, port de mer, probablement dans le but de pouvoir les échanger pour des prisonniers japonais du Canada?" *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 31. "Nous avons été avisés dans la suite par une lettre du MAE d'Ottawa, en date du 25 septembre 1944, que cinq missionnaires de notre Société internés au Japon n'avaient pas pu, lors du dernier échange des prisonniers, être choisis." *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. II no. 17, September-October 1946, p. 598. "On [Japanese army] nous invitait même à quitter le pays sur des navires d'échange de prisonniers!"

<sup>607</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 87, December 1943. "En octobre 1942, la vie devint de plus en plus serrée pour les sujets britanniques et les américains. À la fin de février 1943 commença l'internement dans divers camps. [...] Les PP. Forest et Ouimet ont dû interrompre leur enseignement à l'Aurore [Shanghai's Catholic University] au moment de l'internement des religieux qui a commencé le 13 avril 1943 pour les pères de Shanghai." Gervais, p. 120. "À Wuchang, S. Siant-Pierre, S. Saint-Rock, S. Sainte-Jeanne d'Arc et S. Louis-Marie furent internées au camp de Chapei (Shanghai) pour deux mois et ensuite en résidence surveillée au couvent des Dames du Sacré-Coeur dans la concession française de Shanghai."

<sup>608</sup> Groulx, p. 119. "Le 8 décembre 1941, la funeste nouvelle arrive: déclaration de guerre du Japon et les États-Unis. S'ensuivent les plus douloureux événements: perquisition de la police japonaise et chinoise à l'évêché, au séminaire, arrestations des missionnaires, puis internement des missionnaires de Szeping kai et

was the Jesuit detention headquarters for nations at war with Japan.<sup>609</sup> The move to concentrate Jesuits at Zikawei began in September 1942.<sup>610</sup> Québec missionaries shared the compound with missionaries from Belgium and the United States.<sup>611</sup> In the Zikawei compound, Québec missionaries held seminars aimed at improving their conversion record.<sup>612</sup> Before being sent to camps, Québec Jesuits reached agreements with German and Italian priests, Japan's allies, about the handling of their Xuzhou mission while they were in detention.<sup>613</sup>

Exchange of prisoners between Canada and Japan accentuated the war ambiance in Québec. The first group of missionaries, including some from Québec, civilians and diplomats left Japan in the summer of 1942 aboard the Asama Maru and met the Gripsholm in July 1942 to proceed with the first exchange of war-time prisoners between

---

Lintung. [...] Pour tromper l'ennui, à Szeping kai, les missionnaires se livrent à des études de langue chinoise ou japonaise, de théologie, d'ascétisme."

<sup>609</sup> Langlais, p. 69.

<sup>610</sup> Dragon, *Le Père Bernard*, p. 199.

<sup>611</sup> Groulx, p. 97. " Mais vers l'année 1945 s'ouvre une autre série d'épreuves: tous les missionnaires américains et canadiens [Jésuites, Franciscains, Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception] au nombre de 52, transportés à Shanghai."

<sup>612</sup> The Québec Jesuits produced two volumes outlining the proceedings of those seminars: *Méthodes d'apostolat au Vicariat de Suchow* (Shanghai: Grand Séminaire de Zikawei, 1944) and *Cours de pastorale suggestions et applications au Vicariat apostolique de Suchow* (Shanghai: Grand Séminaire de Zikawei, 1945). Material provided by the Procure des Missions, Jésuites canadiens at the Maison Bellarmin.

<sup>613</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 87, December 1943. "Dès septembre 1942, on avait voulu forcer Mgr Côté à partir, avec tout son monde, pour l'Amérique. Prévoyant le pire, Monseigneur fit appel à des prêtres séculiers chinois, à des Père du Verbe Divin de nationalité allemande et à des Jésuites italiens. [...] Nos Soeurs canadiennes, Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, se trouvant sous la même menace, des Ursulines italiennes s'en allèrent à Suchow prendre en mains leurs oeuvres, aidées, pour l'orphelinat des garçons, d'un groupe de Salésiens italiens."

the two countries.<sup>614</sup> On the second exchange of prisoners in September-October 1943,<sup>615</sup> a group from MIC and Two-Gun Cohen were transferred to the Gripsholm and they arrived in New York in December.<sup>616</sup> Upon his return to Montréal, Cohen was met by the civil servants of the Canadian Department of External Affairs and the Chinese Ministry of Information for questioning. Montréal's Jewish community received him as a war hero.<sup>617</sup> The return of Québec prisoners-of-war to Montréal clearly reflected the war situation raging in the Far East.

Closer collaboration between Canada and the Republic of China was needed to promote resistance against Japan in China. For Canada, contacts were made in the spring of 1943 when T.V. Soong, China's Foreign Affairs Minister, contacted C.D. Howe to explore the possibility of Canada providing military support for the GMD government.<sup>618</sup> A Mutual Aid Bill, presented by Minister of Justice Louis St-Laurent

---

<sup>614</sup> Pringsheim, *Neighbours Across the Pacific*, p. 78. "A total of forty-two Japanese left Canada on May 8, 1942, going by way of Montréal to board the Gripsholm, which arrived in Lourenço Marques on July 21, 1942, one day before the Asama Maru and Conte Verde arrived from Japan with the Canadian diplomats from Tokyo. Seventy Canadians were transferred to the Gripsholm, nineteen being diplomats, the balance mostly missionaries."

<sup>615</sup> Pringsheim, *Japan and Canada*, p. 68. "October 1943, 61 Japanese for 210 Canadians from various parts of Japanese controlled territory."

<sup>616</sup> Levy, p. 229. "Talk of a second prisoner exchange circulated for months, and people signed petitions to be included. On February 28, 1943, Fischer [a friend of Cohen] wrote, "The Canadians and those with wives and families in Canada have been called up..." Claiming Canadian citizenship Cohen got himself included on the departure list."

<sup>617</sup> Ibid., p. 234. "On December 6, more than five hundred members of the Jewish community gathered at the Mount Royal Hotel to welcome Cohen. The head of the Canadian Jewish Congress, liquor magnate Samuel Bronfman, officiated the dinner" arranged by Montreal's Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations. It is during this stay in Montréal that Cohen met Judith Clark, his future wife.

<sup>618</sup> Nossal, p. 223. The aid package totaled 52 million Canadian dollars.

approved a shipment of guns and ammunition to "Free China."<sup>619</sup> Canada's involvement in the war encouraged the China lobby to increase its activities in Ottawa. T.V. Soong, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, met C.D. Howe on the 28<sup>th</sup> May 1943 in Ottawa with requests for 60,000 tons of supplies small arms, ammunition and artillery.<sup>620</sup> In June 1943 Madame Soong Meiling, the wife of Chiang Kai-shek, accepted from Premier Mackenzie King an invitation to address the Canadian parliament.<sup>621</sup> The Canadian/Chinese rapprochement permitted the holding of an international conference in which the Chinese could encourage increased American involvement in China.<sup>622</sup> Not surprisingly, Mackenzie King lobbied England and the United States to include China in the Allied War Committee.<sup>623</sup>

During World War Two Québec City was host to two major high level international conferences aimed at preparing for the liberation of China from Japanese occupation.<sup>624</sup> Québec City was regarded as a safe location for international conferences.

---

<sup>619</sup> Ibid., p. 221. "A shipment of fifty Bren machine guns carriers, fifty 25-pounder artillery, and fifty anti-aircraft (AA) guns."

<sup>620</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid, p. 292. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1943, Soong Meiling was the first woman to address the Canadian parliament.

<sup>622</sup> *La Presse*, 12 August 1943. "La presse chinoise demande aujourd'hui au premier ministre Churchill et au président Roosevelt d'accorder toute leur attention, au cours de la conférence de Québec, à la stratégie alliée contre le Japon et surtout au renforcement du front chinois."

<sup>623</sup> André Patry, *Le Québec dans le monde* (Montréal: Leméac, 1980), p. 19.

<sup>624</sup> *La Presse*, 23 August 1943. *La guerre du Pacifique au premier plan*. "La question du Pacifique est au premier plan dans les conversations d'aujourd'hui à la conférence de Québec. Dès hier, l'arrivée du Dr T.V. Soong, ministre des affaires étrangères de la Chine, avait mis cela en évidence. Or, le président Roosevelt consacra une partie de sa lourde journée aux affaires chinoises." *Le Devoir*, 25 August 1943. "On peut toutefois exposer que les discussions d'ordre militaire auxquelles se sont livrés les chefs d'état-major ont

Plans to liberate Asia from Japan were needed. The first Québec Conference took place from August 17<sup>th</sup> to the 24<sup>th</sup> 1943 at the Château Frontenac. Winston Churchill (1874-1965), Franklin Roosevelt (1882-1945), Mackenzie King (1874-1950), and T.V. Soong all attended the Conference.<sup>625</sup> Stalin's absence was unanimously regretted.<sup>626</sup>

The outcome of the first Québec Conference was a greater Allied effort to liberate East Asia from Japanese occupation. One of the first military action aimed at regaining control of the Pacific was the Allied invasion of the Aleutian Islands. The first attack took part during the Québec Conference.<sup>627</sup> Morale reached new highs with news that the invasion of the Kiska Island was accomplished without any loss of life. In fact, the Japanese deserted the island a few days before the attack. 20% of the Allied forces in Kiska consisted of Canadian soldiers, among whom was a Hull battalion.<sup>628</sup> Canadian and Québec involvement in the Pacific continued to increase even though greater effort was focused on first liberating Europe. The 1943 Burma expedition, departing from India and Ceylon, provided training facilities for wider military operations.<sup>629</sup>

---

porté en très grande partie sur la guerre contre le Japon et l'octroi d'une aide effective à la Chine. M. T.V. Soong, représentant du généralissime Tchiang Kai-chek, a pris part aux discussions."

<sup>625</sup> The Central News Agency of China sent David Liu to attend the Québec Conference. See *Le Devoir*, 19 August 1943.

<sup>626</sup> *La Presse*, 16 September 1944. "Car les conditions de notre participation à la guerre du Pacifique ne seront pas rendues publiques tout de suite. Mais c'est aujourd'hui, demain, et les jours suivants que se décidera le nombre d'hommes, de navires et d'avions que le Canada enverra prendre part à la grande offensive contre le Japon."

<sup>627</sup> *La Presse*, 23 August 1943.

<sup>628</sup> Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome II, p. 208. "20% des forces alliées qui envahirent Kiska le 15 août 1943 étaient canadiennes. [...] Le régiment de Hull fait partie de ce bataillon."

<sup>629</sup> *La Presse*, 11 August 1943. "Expédition en Birmanie. La saison de la mousson dans le golfe du Bengale, le long de la côte de la Birmanie, se terminera dans la première partie d'octobre. Une expédition

After the first Québec Conference, the Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek began pressuring Ottawa for greater Canadian involvement in the Sino-Japanese conflict. The Chinese government hired a Montréal businessman to lobby Ottawa for Canadian military aid for China.<sup>630</sup> In June 1944 Canada responded by sending a second shipment of arms from Montréal by ship.<sup>631</sup> The establishment of the War Assets Corporation (the future Army Supplies) was the work of C.D. Howe. Its main office was in Montréal and it was mandated to gather surplus military equipment for subsequent sales.<sup>632</sup> In addition, Canada relinquished its extraterritorial rights in China, which had been protected by England's treaties with China.<sup>633</sup> This move set a new course for Sino-Canadian relations, placing both countries on the same legal footing in international relations. The only barrier left for mutual respect between Canada and China was the Chinese Exclusion Act.

---

alliée qui rétablirait les communications de la Chine Libre avec le monde extérieur remonterait le moral des Chinois d'une façon merveilleuse."

<sup>630</sup> Nossal, p. 228. "The government in Ottawa began to feel more pressure from the Chinese. On 1 October 1943, the Chinese Government War Supplies Agency had hired Roy G. Peers, a Montréal businessman, and general manager of War Supplies Limited, a Crown corporation under the wing of C.D. Howe."

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., p. 239. "The Joint War Aid Committee (JWAC) meeting on 31 May 1944 gave a approval of a second shipment, which sailed aboard the S.S Elk Island from Montréal on 15 June 1944." p. 247. "The total value of Canadian shipments to China under the provisions of Mutual Aid amounted to 39 641 397. 0.016% of the total amount supplied by Canada to its allies in the last two years of the war (2.471 billion)."

<sup>632</sup> Ibid., p. 264. "In 1949, its name was changed to Crown Assets Disposal Corporation," later on the Army Supplies (Les Surplus de l'Armée).

<sup>633</sup> Mackay, p. 334, "Statement Lyon MacKenzie King, 17 April 1944...three copies of the treaty between Canada and the Republic of China concerning the relinquishment of extra-territorial rights signed at Ottawa on April 14, 1944."



The Canadian government also began recruiting Chinese-Canadians and Québec communication experts to take part in special units created to cut the Japanese lifeline in Southeast Asia.<sup>634</sup> Many Quebecers served in the unit Special Operations Executive (SOE). The creation of this special force aimed at destroying the Japanese was kept top secret; about a dozen Quebecers (some of Chinese origin) served in the special unit. Some were sent to Burma, Malaysia and Thailand to cut off Japanese supply lines and to decode their communications. Among those who served the SOE was McGill graduate Peter Cheng, the first Chinese-Canadian (Chinese-Québecer) to work in Sarawak.<sup>635</sup> Joseph Benoît traveled to Malaysia to work to disarm the Malay communists.<sup>636</sup> Raymond Cadieux was part of the "Special Wireless Group" aimed at decoding Japanese messages in the Pacific.<sup>637</sup> Pierre Chassé commanded defeated Japanese forces against Malay communists who were attacking British forces.<sup>638</sup> Captain Joseph Lessard worked as a

---

<sup>634</sup> Anciens Combattants/Veteran Affairs, *Un courage peu ordinaire. Les agents secrets canadiens au cours de la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Ottawa: Gouvernement du Canada, 1985, p. 17. "Pour cette raison, le SOE (Special Operations Executive) fit un recrutement intense de Canadiens d'origine chinoise en 1943 et en 1944. La situation venait ainsi de changer radicalement pour ce groupe de Canadiens qui, jusque-là, avaient été empêchés de jouer quelque rôle que ce soit dans la défense de leur nouveau pays."

<sup>635</sup> *Un courage peu ordinaire*, p. 19. "Cheng fut le premier Canadien d'origine chinoise à devenir officier dans le Corps des transmissions royal canadien, ce qui était tout à fait exceptionnel à l'époque. Diplômé en génie électrique de l'Université McGill et parlait couramment le cantonnais." Cheng joined the commando in Sarawak. He was not the only Asian Montrealer to enroll in the Canadian army. A Japanese Montrealer, David Tsubota "enlisted before the war and had been captured in the commando raid on Dieppe." See Adachi, p. 293.

<sup>636</sup> *Un courage peu ordinaire*, p. 21. "L'opération Tideway Green, travaillait en collaboration avec la Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA). Il était dirigé par l'un des "anciens" du SOE, Joseph Henri Adélar Benoît. Il avait déjà accompli des missions de sabotage en France et suivi un entraînement dans la jungle à Ceylan et en Birmanie." Benoît was an electrical engineer at the Compagnie de Tramway de Montréal. See Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés: L'histoire inédite des militaires canadiens-français de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, Tome III, Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1997, p. 162.

<sup>637</sup> Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome III, p. 158.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164. Soldier Archambault also perished in Burma while cleaning his dynamite.

pilot for the China Transport Command and crossed the Himalayan Hump 120 times.<sup>639</sup> Finally, René Gagnon was among the six soldiers who raised the American flag at Iwo Jima.<sup>640</sup>

Churchill, King and Roosevelt attended the second Québec Conference held in September 1944. The conference concluded plans to cut Japan's lines of supply and to prepare for the post-war era in the Pacific. The strategy resulted in sending Quebecers to the Burmese front. Jacques Taschereau and Paul-Émile Thibeault were parachuted into Burma to assess the retreat of the Japanese and to make certain that none escaped to Burma and Thailand.<sup>641</sup> At the Conference Mackenzie King spoke of the greater involvement of Canada in the Pacific region.<sup>642</sup> This time, Stalin's absence was not regretted, but mostly criticized because the Soviet Union had not yet attacked Japan.<sup>643</sup> The Conference laid out the plans of the Allies for their final assault on Japan.

---

<sup>639</sup> *La Presse*, 27 June 1944.

<sup>640</sup> Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome III, p. 319.

<sup>641</sup> *Un courage peu ordinaire*, p. 22. "Jacques Taschereau et Paul-Émile Thibeault. Mars 1945 entraîné au Eastern Warfare School du SOE. Parachutés en Birmanie en mars et en avril 1945. [...] Taschereau, qui participait à l'"opération Character" de la force 136, se joignit aux guerriers locaux appelés Karens afin de tendre des embuscades aux troupes japonaises qui essayaient de s'enfuir en Thaïlande en passant par les montagnes. Paul-Émile Thibeault fut parachuté en passant Birmanie en compagnie de Joseph "Rocky" Fournier, mineur du Nouveau-Brunswick." See also Vennat, *Les Héros oubliés*, Tome III, p. 162.

<sup>642</sup> *La Presse*, 18 September 1944. "Unanimité sur tous les points à Québec: Le Canada tient à faire sa part contre le Japon." The article stressed that "avec un signe approbateur du premier ministre canadien, M. Churchill s'empresse d'ajouter: M. King veut aussi sa part pour le Canada et il n'est pas question de l'amoinrir." *Le Devoir* was much more critical about Canada's intention during the war and the second Québec Conference. Asked whether he would join the discussions about the Pacific, M. King answered no but said that he would happily serve the interest of the Allied cause. *Le Devoir*, 12 September 1944.

<sup>643</sup> *Le Devoir*, 20 September 1944. "De quoi s'agissait-il, pour une large part, à Québec? Du sort du Japon, des *barbares* du Pacifique, comme on l'a dit dans un style qui n'a pas grand chose à faire avec les vieilles formules diplomatiques. [...] Or, quelle est en face du Japon la situation de notre *allié* russe? *Le Journal* rappelle à tant de gens qui semblent l'oublier que la Russie ne fait pas la guerre aux *barbares* du Pacifique.

In the final stage of the war, the Allies' attacks on Japan required Canada to engage in talks with the CCP and to prepare post-war plans for China. After the Japanese Ichigo offensive in early 1944, which destroyed the Flying Tigers unit in Guilin, the Americans concluded that Chiang Kai-shek's forces were inept and corrupted.<sup>644</sup> To the amazement of American personnel in Chongqing, the GMD was not prepared to take control of the country once the Japanese had been defeated. There was simply no GMD post-war plan. The United States and Canada therefore moved to explore closer ties with the Chinese Communists in Yan'an, Northern Shaanxi.<sup>645</sup> In late 1944 Canadian Ambassador Odlum reported to Ottawa that the Chinese Communists were incapable of sustaining a prolonged war and that they were mainly peasants.<sup>646</sup> This misinterpretation of the communist capacities blurred Odlum's appreciation of Mao Zedong's forces. Junior staff at the Canadian Embassy had a much better understanding in believing that the GMD was not ready for government. The Québec Jesuit magazine *Relations* warned its readers about

---

[...] En d'autres termes: *la Russie et le Japon sont en paix*. [...] L'aspect japonais de la conférence suffit à expliquer que Staline n'ait pas voulu en être."

<sup>644</sup> Spence, p. 478. The author provides interesting statistics on the quality of GMD forces: "1,670 000 Chinese men drafted for active service in 1943, 44 percent deserted or died on the way to join their units." Spencer Kennard jr., a Baptist missionary Professor of History in West China Union University, wrote "Partisan China Fights" in *The Protestant*. Vol. VI, No. 2, February 1945, pp. 18-23. "The biggest problem of these Partisan armies throughout the war has been the lack of an all-out-with-the-war purpose on the part of Chungking leaders. American news dispatches, including those relating to the recall of General Stilwell, have increasingly exposed the Chungking high command as responsible for the dragging out of the war and for many Japanese victories. Chungking's problem has been more a lack of fighting morale rather than a lack of weapons... Under such circumstances what we need in China is a basic policy whereby American aid is given to groups in proportion to their eagerness to use our material against Japan. To do this, we may have to bypass Chungking."

<sup>645</sup> Nossal, pp. 181-182. In May 1944, Odlum met Lin Tsu-han (Lin Pai-ch'u), the chairman of the Shan-Kan-Ning Region government.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid., p. 172. "Odlum's belief that the Chinese Communists could never win a civil war against the Nationalists armies would prove to be a cardinal part of his overall perception."

rapprochement between Canada, the United-States and the CCP of Mao Zedong.<sup>647</sup> With the defeat of Germany, Japan could not hold out longer when the undivided attention of the Allied forces shifted to the Far East. Although minor, the role of Canadian military intervention in the Pacific combined with greater American and British involvement in the region, put the Japanese Empire under great stress. The capitulation of Japan in August 1945 opened a new era for China.

Notwithstanding the Canadian government's assessment of the GMD, Québec Catholic missionaries became totally supportive of the GMD during the final days of the war. First of all, the departure of the Japanese from Chinese territory permitted Québec missionaries to publicly endorse the GMD. Second, in the minds of Québec Catholic missionaries, the GMD was better than communism. Québec Catholic missionaries gave their support to the GMD in the fight against the emerging communist threat.<sup>648</sup> The sudden appreciation of the GMD is explainable because, at the end of the war, the communists were no longer a small force hidden in the Shaanxi Mountains. Their army was now much larger in number, experienced and supported by the Soviet Union. This change of military balance dramatically changed Québec's support of the GMD. From a cold stance towards the GMD, Québec missionaries, especially Catholics, became public

---

<sup>647</sup> *Relations*, vol. 4, no. 48, December 1944, p. 334. "Le New York Times estime que les communistes chinois ne sont pas des communistes, mais des agrariens. Le chef du Shensi est pourtant Mao Tse-Tung, membre depuis des années du Présidium de l'International communiste et représentant de la Chine dans son comité exécutif. Les informations de Time (13 novembre 1944) sur le communisme des dissidents chinois (p. 23) sont aussi précises qu'on peut le désirer."

<sup>648</sup> Renaud, *Süchow '48*, p. 52. The author stresses that "le gouvernement central et l'Église catholique sont également intéressés à la déroute du communisme."

supporters of the GMD once World War Two ended. The emergence of communism in China was obviously seen as a menace by Québec missionaries because communism had an openly anti-religious message.

Québec's involvement in China changed dramatically. What began as a predominantly missionary enterprise, became more complex and complete during World War Two. Canadian diplomatic and military efforts changed the nature of Québec's involvement in China. Ideological orientation also became a major concern because of the rise of Chinese communism and its impact worldwide.

The Sino-Japanese War represents the apogee of the study of Chinese history and culture and the popularization of China in Québec. More than a thousand Quebecers were in China when Canada declared war against Japan. Not surprisingly, interest in China reached its apex not only because of Québec's involvement in China, but also because there was a genuine desire to learn about China. During the early 1940s, in conjunction with the Montreal exhibition, different types of publications and cultural productions on China informed people in Québec. Chinese material touched all sectors of Québec culture: newspapers, films, theatre, books, magazines, and radio were all influenced by the popularization of China in Québec.

## Chapter VI

### Civil War and Québec Reaction, 1945-1949

Québec involvement in China during the Civil War of 1945-1949 went through three different stages. At first, the outcome of World War Two fostered renewed confidence by Québec missionaries in the GMD government. Until 1947 optimism and reconstruction characterized the immediate post-war period for Quebecers in China. In the second stage of the Civil War, GMD defects and its poor handling of the post-war period aggravated political tensions while China lay in ruins. Québec and Canadian pessimism over the fate of China increased because of the apparent incapacity of the GMD to govern effectively. Québec missionaries and Canadian diplomats posted in China realized too well that a GMD defeat was approaching. In the final phase, the expected victory of the Chinese communists put Québec Catholic missionaries at odds with the CCP, a party that promoted atheism. In the last phase of the Civil War, Québec Protestants missionaries began their withdrawal from China, while Catholics did not depart but adopted a strong anti-Communist attitude. Again, religious denomination divided the two groups.

This chapter argues that the Chinese Civil War was a period of great frustration for Québec involvement in China. Quebecers who took part in the post-war reconstruction of China saw their work ended by the Civil War. This was especially true for missionaries who had been providing education and social services in China. From the initial optimism

expressed by different Quebecers during the earliest stage of the Civil War, missionaries saw their work threatened as the war went on. Canadian diplomats could not prevent the deterioration of the GMD even though Canada provided substantial assistance to the Nationalist government. The potential of the China market was increasingly out-of-reach for Québec business people. This chapter also argues that almost all Quebecers involved in China became publicly supportive of the GMD, even though privately many criticized the way that the party was handling domestic affairs. Rampant inflation, widespread corruption, lack of discipline among the troops, and the communist successes were numerous manifestations of the government's inability to perform. Unanimously, Quebecers publicly supported and privately criticized the GMD. After two years of Civil War, the battlefield suggested a CCP takeover of the country. Finally, this chapter describes how Québec missionaries witnessed the disintegration of the GMD and how the CCP assured its influence in rural China, particularly Manchuria. Towards the end of the Civil War, many foreigners left China, but Québec Catholic missionaries resisted leaving the country.

In 1945 the prospect of post-war peace in China suggested that Québec's involvement in China would revive. When the World War Two ended, Québec hopes ran high once again. Most Québec missionaries returned to their missions, while the Canadian government proceeded to normalize its relation with GMD-dominated Republic of China. Hopes for a peace plan between the GMD and Mao Zedong's CCP encouraged many Québec missionaries to resume their involvement in China. Many Quebecers and

Canadians, both missionaries and lay people, concluded that they would be able to work towards the reconstruction of China.

The outset of Civil War in China did not deter the arrival of more Québec missionaries in China. Missionaries took possession of their old missions while re-staffing them with new recruits. MIC offered shelters for the victims of the Civil War in all parts of China,<sup>649</sup> while the Sisters Notre-Dame des Anges opened a hospital in Canton.<sup>650</sup> Jesuits returned in Xuzhou as early as September 1945<sup>651</sup> to become involved in numerous locations.<sup>652</sup> Smaller congregations such as the Carmélites<sup>653</sup> and the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne consolidated their work in China.<sup>654</sup> The Clercs St-Viateur (CSV) retook possession of their missions in Manchuria<sup>655</sup> and sent missionaries to the "red areas" until early 1949.<sup>656</sup> Just a year prior to the Communist takeover, the CSV opened a new mission in Mengsi and Kaiyuan, Yunnan.<sup>657</sup>

---

<sup>649</sup> Groulx, p.97. "Ouverture de camp de réfugiés. De Szépingkai à Xuzhou et Canton."

<sup>650</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>651</sup> *Nouvelles de la Province du Bas-Canada*, 24<sup>th</sup> year, no. 9, p. 128.

<sup>652</sup> Jacques Langlais describes the years 1945-1948 as *Le Grand Essor d'Après-Guerre*. See Langlais, p. 70.

<sup>653</sup> Sister Hermance Allard arrived in Shanghai in 1947 January. She left for the Philippines in 1955. Unpublished paper handed to the author (May 2001) by Soeur Gagnon of the Carmélites congregation in Montréal.

<sup>654</sup> Pierre Mertens, p. 6.

<sup>655</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 82, January-february 1956.

<sup>656</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 14, March-April 1949, p. 334. Gustave Prévost left for Manchuria in February 1949.

<sup>657</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 8, March-April 1948, p. 171. "MM Alphonse Dubé (Rivière-Ouellet) et Paul-Émile Asselin (St-Thomas de Joliette) et Gaudiose Gagnon (Jonquière) partiront



After World War Two, the Canadian government acted promptly to reestablish normal diplomatic ties with China. As early as the autumn of 1945, Canadian diplomats reopened the Shanghai consular office, while scouting for new offices for the Canadian Embassy in Nanjing.<sup>658</sup> The reopening of diplomatic offices in Hong Kong and the Embassy in Tokyo reasserted Canada's involvement in the Far East and in the rest of Asia.<sup>659</sup> Québec's involvement in China was to benefit from the return of Canadian diplomats to China. Some Québec missionaries in Manchuria served in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) which focused on the distribution of food and the return to civil life in China.<sup>660</sup>

Canada's official support for the GMD in the reconstruction of China was politically and economically motivated. Prime Minister MacKenzie King listened carefully to his friend Victor Odlum, Canada's ambassador to China. Odlum's meeting with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai did not change his faulty assessment of the CCP despite

---

en Avril 1948 pour la nouvelle mission du Yunnan." They would join Fernand Schetagne and Alain Lecompte.

<sup>658</sup> Nossal, p. 7. The Shanghai consulate was re-opened by Peter Campbell. It remained opened from 1945 until 1951.

<sup>659</sup> In Japan some Canadian diplomats (Herbert Norman) would join the SCAP. During the Chinese civil war, Canada established diplomatic relations with India (1947), Pakistan (1948), and South Korea (1949). Indonesia and Sri Lanka would wait until 1953 before gaining Canadian diplomatic recognition. Lalande, p. 367. The establishment of diplomatic legations in South Korea would have an important impact on future Québec/Canada/China relations during the Korean War. See also John Holmes & Jean-René Laroche "Le Canada et la Guerre Froide" in Painchaud, p. 284.

<sup>660</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 4, July-August 1947, p. 77. "Quand les Américains quittèrent la Mandchourie, à la fin de 1946 ils confièrent à la mission catholique le soin de distribuer les secours envoyés par l'UNNRA (sic)." UNRRA was a United Nations' relief organization. Jean Ho worked for UNRRA for two years (1945-1947).

a more accurate analysis by the embassy's junior staff that the communists were stronger than had previously been thought.<sup>661</sup> The junior staff told Odium and the Canadian cabinet that Mao's Red Army had to be taken seriously, and that GMD negotiations with the CCP were essential for peace and stability. Stephen Endicott argues that the Canadian cabinet, under King's pressure, preferred to "slight" the advice of junior staff at the Department of External Affairs, and to support the GMD for ideological reasons. According to Stephen Endicott, Minister of External Affairs Louis Saint-Laurent's \$60 million loans in 1946 "was the first post-war loan given to China by any country."<sup>662</sup> On the other hand, Kim Richard Nossal argues that Ottawa's decision to support the GMD in the earliest stage of the civil war had little to do with ideological concerns, it was a more practical decision:

The policies pursued by the Ottawa in this respect had little to do with the Cold War. The policy of arms sales to the Kuomintang was determined by economic considerations, bureaucratic politics; erroneous assessments at the Cabinet level of the Kuomintang's ability to survive; and a related failure at this level to accept more accurate predictions of those junior and middle level officials in External Affairs that the Nationalists would lose the civil war.<sup>663</sup>

The Canadian government's military assistance to the GMD reached its height in 1947. At the beginning of 1947 munitions left the port of Montréal heading for China.<sup>664</sup>

---

<sup>661</sup> Nossal, p. 182.

<sup>662</sup> Stephen Endicott, *James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 217.

<sup>663</sup> Nossal, pp. 6-7. The author also specifies (p. 323) that the most important of the "broad factors" was the question of ideology, which blurred a rational perception by the Canadian cabinet of what was actually going on in China.

<sup>664</sup> Endicott, p. 217. "Beginning in 1947 ships were loaded with munitions began to sail for China from Vancouver and Montreal."

Minister Louis St-Laurent (1882-1973) gave permission to proceed with the shipment of arms to China despite an American embargo.<sup>665</sup> Two hundred bomber planes were sold to China and new loans permitted the GMD to buy a large quantity of munitions.<sup>666</sup> Up to 1947 China had received about one hundred million dollars of military aid from Canada.<sup>667</sup>

The GMD's interest in Québec and Canada was as a source of assistance for the reconstruction of China. The GMD government was therefore also active in Canada and Québec during the Civil War. GMD Minister of International Relations T.V. Soong's visits during the two Québec conferences paid off, as he became more familiar with Canadian politics. In September 1945 Soong returned to Ottawa to discuss further Canadian involvement in China.<sup>668</sup> Minister of External affairs Louis St-Laurent proposed a loan of 60 million dollars for China, and the study of further initiatives aimed at consolidating Chiang's GMD government in Nanjing. Montréal apparently developed a reputation as a place to purchase arms and military equipment. Its capacity to produce military equipment was apparently amongst the most productive in the world.<sup>669</sup> Two-

---

<sup>665</sup> Nossal, p. 274. "Louis St-Laurent agreed to authorise the export of the ammunition manufacturing equipment. The recommendations of the Cabinet committee were approved by a full meeting of Cabinet on 16 April 1947."

<sup>666</sup> Ibid., p. 284. "The amended sale [September 30<sup>th</sup> 1947] gave approval for the export to China of: 211 complete aircraft; 55 million rounds for the .303 machine guns."

<sup>667</sup> Ibid., p. 216.

<sup>668</sup> Ibid., p. 259. T.V. Soong visited Ottawa in early September 1945. A few days later, on the 13<sup>th</sup> September at the cabinet meeting "attended by all six members [Louis St-laurent, MacKenzie King, C.D. Howe, and three other cabinet members] recommends the extension of \$60 million in credit."

<sup>669</sup> See *Esprit de corps*, vol. 8, no. 3.

Gun Cohen seized the opportunity to make deals; he left Montréal for Shanghai where he met his old boss, Wu Tiecheng, Mayor of Shanghai and Victor Odlum, Canada's ambassador to China.<sup>670</sup> Plans were discussed for the possibility of greater involvement by Canadian business in China. Upon his return to Montréal, Cohen learned from Sydney Shulemson about the sale of the bombers to China.<sup>671</sup>

The non-military business community of Montréal also became involved in the reconstruction of post-war China. Reflecting Canada's optimism after World War Two, 1946 was the peak year for Canadian trade with China. The Canadian government, with the cooperation of three Canadian banks, offered almost 13 million dollars to revamp the Yangtze river transportation complexes.<sup>672</sup> These loans ultimately became an obstacle to the Canadian recognition of the People's Republic of China.<sup>673</sup> Shop Angus, Montréal

---

<sup>670</sup> Levy, p. 243. "On Feb 14, 1946, Cohen and Sun Zuobing, the son of Sun Fo, went to see the Canadian ambassador." Sun Fo was appointed by Chiang Kai-shek to the Vatican in September 1946. Sun Fo was recalled by Chiang and became the Prime Minister of China in early 1949 when the Guomindang was in disarray. See Jean Ching Hsiung Wu, *La Science de l'Amour*, Montréal: Procure des missions de Chine, Jésuites canadiens, 1951, p. IX.

<sup>671</sup> Montréal would attract other arms buyers such as Sydney Shulemson and Shimon Peres, responsible for manpower and arm purchases for the Haganah. Back in Montréal, Cohen would meet Sydney Shulemson who worked to round up troops for the Haganah and Israel. The Haganah was created in 1920 to amass arms and create an underground force for the making of Israel. The Haganah was incorporated in Israel's army after 1948. Levy, p. 248. "Shulemson heard that China had purchased from Canada two hundred De Havilland Mosquito bombers. The Canadian government had a large number of them at the end of WWII said Shulemson." *American Veterans of Israel Newsletter*, January 2000. "Early in the Autumn of 1947, Sydney Shulemson, an ex-RCAF pilot and Canada's most highly decorated Jewish serviceman of WWII traveled by train from Montreal to New York to participate in a meeting of an informal committee headed by the philanthropist Rudolph Sonneborn. Facetiously dubbed 'The Sonneborn Institute' by its members, the American group provided the influence and financial resources necessary for the Haganah's recruiting and procurement effort throughout Israel's very difficult nascent period."

<sup>672</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 29. "In late 1946, the Canadian government guaranteed a 12 750 000 loan by three Canadian banks to the Ming Sung Industrial company's plans for modernized Yangtze transport."

<sup>673</sup> NAC, RG-20, Industrie et Commerce, série A-3, volume 1950 dossier: 20-12-2, Private loan to Ming Sung Industrial Co. of China for construction of ships in Canada.

Locomotive,<sup>674</sup> Eastern Abattoir,<sup>675</sup> and Noorduyn Aviation Limited of Montréal<sup>676</sup> all benefited from the war economy in China. On the other hand, the civil war in China meant bad business for Québec's non-military industries. When it became clear that no peace plan would settle the Chinese civil war, Canadian exports to China dropped dramatically. After reaching a value of nearly 43 millions in 1946, less than \$14 million of Canadian exports were shipped to China in 1949.<sup>677</sup> The communist victory and the non-recognition of the new Chinese regime ended Canadian traders' dreams for the China market.<sup>678</sup>

In the educational sector, there were closer ties between Québec and China during the civil war period. Chinese students traveled more freely to Québec's academic institutions<sup>679</sup> once the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1947.<sup>680</sup> Academic linkages between Chinese and Québec students could be made. Miss L.S. Tang, English

---

<sup>674</sup> See page 180.

<sup>675</sup> Eastern Abattoirs in Montréal, a Canadian Pacific subsidiary, supplied foodstuffs for the Canadian army.

<sup>676</sup> Noorduyn Aviation Limited of Montréal designed the Noorduyn Norseman, a light transport airplane convertible to wheels, skis or floats. In May 1938, deliveries began to the Royal Canadian Air Force.

<sup>677</sup> Denis Stairs, *The Diplomacy of Constraint: Canada, the Korean War, and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 181. From the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the Department of Trade and Commerce Canada. Exports of Canadian Produce 1946-1950. 1946:\$42 915 143; 1947: \$34 984 364; 1948: \$29 128 478\$; 1949: \$13 801 203\$; 1950: \$2 056 569. Exports included Canadian manufactured goods of foreign origin.

<sup>678</sup> Levy, p. 254-255. So bad were trade prospects in China that the Canadian Pacific abandoned the idea to concretize the right -obtained from General MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek- to establish a Vancouver-Tokyo-Shanghai air route.

<sup>679</sup> As an example, Pierre Wang would leave Shanghai and attend mechanic classes at the École Technique de Montréal. Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 334.

<sup>680</sup> The unequal treaties between England and China (therefore Canada and China) were abrogated in 1944.

Secretary of the Central Union of Chinese Students in England and Ireland, sent a letter to *Jeunesse Étudiante Catholique* in Québec stressing their mutual desire to enhance contacts between China and Québec.<sup>681</sup> Miss Tang indicated to the *Jeunesse Étudiante Catholique* that queries to promote exchanges should be written to the International Student Service in Nanjing and Mr. Han Liwu, Vice-Minister of Education in China. Guy Rocher, National President of the *Jeunesse Étudiante Catholique* did not use the channel offered by Miss Tang.<sup>682</sup> In May 1947 Rocher sent an invitation to young French Sinologist Jean Chesneaux to come to Québec and address students about his experience around the world and in China.<sup>683</sup> In addition, lectures about Chinese women<sup>684</sup> and Tibetan dances were held for the first time in Québec in 1949.<sup>685</sup> The *Service d'Information canadien* also promoted academic activities by sponsoring the visit of two well known Chinese writers to Québec. Jean-Paul Dallaire celebrated the arrival of the Chinese visitors, stressing that

---

<sup>681</sup> Letter of L.S. Tang (May 30<sup>th</sup> 1946). Archives Nationales du Québec, P65, S18,SS1, SSS16, 1-1975-00-034/332.

<sup>682</sup> Letter of Guy Rocher le (July 17<sup>th</sup> 1947). Archives Nationales du Québec, P65, S18,SS1, SSS16, 1-1975-00-034/332.

<sup>683</sup> I have not found any further steps taken by the *Jeunesse Étudiante Catholique* in their archives at the Archives Nationales du Québec. Plans to invite Jean Chesneaux seem to have been abandoned. Other Sinologists would be invited in Québec during the 1940s and 1950s. Aside from Jean Ho's arrival in Québec in 1949, Madame Vandier-Nicolas was invited for a lecture of Chinese philosophy. See Vandier-Nicola, *Notes sur la pensée chinoise antique* (Montréal: Édition de la Procure des Missions, 1954).

<sup>684</sup> *Le Devoir*, 25 April 1949. Victor Hoo, assistant-secretary of the United Nations, was invited by the Société d'étude et de conférence at the Windsor Hotel in Montréal.

<sup>685</sup> *Le Devoir*, 13 January 1949. On January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1949, Indian and Tibetan dances were performed at His Majesty's in Montréal. Indian dancers, Sujata and Asoka, performed the dances at the sound of piano and violin. "La musique hindoue authentique adaptée pour les instruments occidentaux." According to *Le Devoir*, Indian dancer Shankar and his troupe performed the first Indian dances in Québec in 1939.

Québec was concerned with China, and soon, Québec intellectuals would turn to China for deeper knowledge of this civilization.<sup>686</sup>

Aujourd'hui, c'est la Chine qui vient à nous. Rien de vraiment nouveau. Depuis assez longtemps déjà, des représentants de la République chinoise vivent parmi nous; des étudiants chinois fréquentent nos universités; des hommes d'affaires chinois établissent des relations commerciales avec les firmes de notre pays; des voyageurs chinois s'arrêtent, de temps à autre, en nos villes et dans nos endroits de villégiatures. Mais aujourd'hui, c'est la Chine intellectuelle qui nous arrive, à la demande officielle du gouvernement canadien. [...] Sommes-nous vraiment loin du jour où nos intellectuels se décideront à apprendre le chinois moderne, afin d'entrer en contact plus intime avec les chefs-d'oeuvre de ce pays?<sup>687</sup>

Omer Héroux, Director of *Le Devoir*, said that Asia was at a turning point in its history. India and China were retaking the place they had once held in world affairs. Héroux advised readers to study Asia because it was clear that a shift in world power had occurred and Asia was decolonizing.

Ils [Asians] paraissent prêts aussi à prendre la tête de ce mouvement de libération. Ils prendront pour le réaliser, le temps qu'il faudra. Ils ne sont point indûment pressés. Ceci veut dire, et c'est précisément ce qui inquiète les observateurs britanniques, et ceux d'autres pays européens, que d'ici un certain nombre d'années les Asiatiques se seront complètement libérés de toute domination étrangère. [...] L'Asie paraît à la veille de reprendre dans le monde une place de premier plan. [...] Il faudra maintenant, et avec beaucoup plus d'attention qu'on ne l'a fait depuis longtemps, regarder du côté de l'Orient.<sup>688</sup>

---

<sup>686</sup> Jean-Paul Dallaire, *Deux Écrivains Chinois Lao She et Ts'ao Yü* (Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire, 1946), p. 7. "Ils [Lao She & Ts'ao Yü] seront à Montréal, du 8 au 10 septembre [1946]; et à Québec, les deux jours suivants. The brochure was published in *Le Devoir*, 7 September 1946.

<sup>687</sup> Dallaire, pp. 7-10.

<sup>688</sup> *Le Devoir*, 7 January 1949.

Some Quebecers of diverse backgrounds criticized Canada's military involvement in the Chinese civil war.<sup>689</sup> A few left-wing militants and few missionaries<sup>690</sup> were pressuring Ottawa to stop meddling in the Chinese conflict. James Endicott and McGill University students made public appeals to stop Canadian government support for the GMD.<sup>691</sup> Kim Nossal and Peter Mitchell explained that Canada's attitude at the beginning of the Civil War was ill advised<sup>692</sup> and hesitant.<sup>693</sup> Québec Catholic missionaries voiced their concerns about the involvement of Canada and the United States in Chinese militarism. The Magazine *Relations* issued a warning that the recent history of fueling Asian militarism had been a catastrophe.

---

<sup>689</sup> Endicott, p. 271. "Fortunately, Endicott soon developed a personal relationship with the leaders of the Canadian party...He first met Tim Buck, Leslie Morris, Stanley Ryerson, and William Kashtan when he invited to his summer house in the summer of 1947 to hear his account of the Chinese revolution." This group would become the core of the Communist Party of Canada.

<sup>690</sup> Stockwell, p. 197. "There were a few missionaries who did oppose the imperialism of their own governments, but their numbers can be counted on the fingers of one hand. [...] Canadian missionary, James Gareth Endicott, took a public position against atrocities committed by the Nationalist government and later gave support to the Communist revolution."

<sup>691</sup> Endicott, pp. 246-247. Endicott was "demanding a hands off China policy. After a series of meetings in Montréal at which Endicott spoke, about one hundred students from McGill University joined him on a picket line to protest the loading of the Canadian ship, the S.S. Cliffside, with arms to China. [...] The Endicotts began in January 1948 to publish a monthly bulletin, the Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter. This continuation of the Shanghai Newsletter appeared without interruption for more than thirty years as a personal interpretation of the revolutionary changes taking place in Asia."

<sup>692</sup> Nossal, p. 339. "During this phase (1947 onward) in marked contrast to the earlier periods, the objectives of the government in Ottawa were ill-defined, and often inconsistent. For an example, an embargo was finally imposed in April, 1947, following a bureaucratic struggle involving the External Affairs and other departments." The Americans lifted their embargo on China the following month.

<sup>693</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 29. "Davis noted that Canada vied France for ranking next only to the United States and Britain in the estimation of Chinese leaders. Reinforcement strengthened Canadian embassy staff as well as the trade commissioner's service in Nanking, and a consular general replace the pre-war trade commissioner's office in Shanghai. [...] Economics also justified sale surplus arms to the Nationalists, though Canadian official thinking had long since abandoned hope that they would emerge successful in the civil war with the Communists."



Que les États-Unis refusent d'accorder les privilèges du *lend-lease* au général Chiang tant que celui-ci n'aura pas capitulé devant les communistes, qu'ils abandonnent la Chine à une ruine presque certaine, c'est évidemment leur droit et leur responsabilité, comme ce fut leur droit de fournir le Japon de feraille durant les quatre, presque les cinq années où cette feraille fut déversée sur les Chinois sous forme de bombes et d'obus.<sup>694</sup>

Québec sources explain that the GMD's efforts to retake control of China had disappointed the Chinese people. American intervention in post-war China was needed because the GMD could not handle the situation. Americans gradually supervised the return of major Chinese cities to the GMD.<sup>695</sup> In Manchuria Russians and Americans assured the coordinated evacuation of Japanese troops from Chinese territory.<sup>696</sup> The Japanese forces stranded in China were directed by the Americans and the GMD not to let cities fall into communist hands. It became clear that the GMD's inability to gain and hold power was the result of lack of manpower, coordination, and skills. Moreover, the GMD's collaboration with those who had worked with the Japanese during the war confused the Chinese population. This situation enabled the CCP to gain support in regions that had suffered tremendously during the Japanese occupation. In Manchuria, Harbin became the urban center of the CCP while it took months before the first arrival of GMD troops in the

---

<sup>694</sup> *Relations*, vol. 4, no. 48, December 1944, p. 334.

<sup>695</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 335. In Xuzhou in March 1946 Armand Proulx and Mgr Côté entertained General Marshall during his trip of assessment of China. When the Communists took over China, they used photos of the meeting to accuse Mgr Côté of being an American spy and collaborator. See also Antonio Dragon, p. 110 and Armand Proulx, *Mon T'ang-li*, p. 84.

<sup>696</sup> *Relations* vol. 6, no. 67, July 1946, pp. 217-218. "En octobre [1945], les Japonais continuaient toujours à porter leurs armes, à garder les portes des grandes villes, à patrouiller les rues, à surveiller les ponts stratégiques des chemins de fer. [...] Le gouvernement central avait donné des ordres précis et stricts: les occupants doivent remettre leur pouvoir aux seuls représentants officiels de Chungking (sic)."

southern part of the province.<sup>697</sup> Québec Jesuit Jean-Paul Dallaire explained in the magazine *Relations* how the GMD's inability affected the morale of the Chinese people.

On attendait le gouvernement national. On attendait les troupes nationales. On attendait des Chinois. Ce furent des Américains qui vinrent tout d'abord [...] Pour s'en rendre parfaitement compte, il fallait être à Tientsin lors de l'entrée des unités américaines. [...] J'étais mêlé à la foule avec les étudiants de l'Université Kung Shang. [...] Les jeunes Chinois applaudirent les Américains avec une joie débordante. Mais sous cet enthousiasme sincère, ils cachaient au fond de leur coeur un désappointement secret, douloureux et tout naturel.<sup>698</sup>

Québec Catholic missionaries and *bienfaiteurs* were staunchly anti-Communists,<sup>699</sup> while Québec Protestants were more divided during the civil war period.<sup>700</sup> As an example, the magazine *The Protestant* (in Montréal) published American author Anna Louise Strong's denunciation of Catholics' systematic refusal of a rapprochement with the

---

<sup>697</sup> In the Zhangjiakou region of Hebei, famous for its pass at the Great Wall, GMD forces are depicted by F. Legrand, *Le communisme arrive au village chinois* (Peiping: Scheut Editions, 1947), p. 33. "À Siwantse il y avait une garnison d'un bon millier de cavaliers. Ces troupes qui dépendaient du général Che Yu San n'avaient guère reçu de formation militaire. Il y avait parmi elles beaucoup d'anciens brigands, enrôlés pour les empêcher de piller la région. Leur courage et leur valeur militaire étaient très limités."

<sup>698</sup> Jean-Paul Dallaire S.J., "La Chine d'après-guerre" in *Relations*, vol. 6, no. 67, July 1946, pp. 217-219.

<sup>699</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 4, July-August 1947, p. 7. Omer Héroux, Director of the newspaper *Le Devoir* signed an article entitled "Sous la coupe communiste." As mentioned earlier, *Le Devoir* carried numerous stories about Québec missionaries in the Orient. Héroux makes a synthesis of the *Peiping Chronicle*, the *Sign* magazine (USA) and the *China Monthly* (USA) articles, and then denounces the way that communists handled religion in China.

<sup>700</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 31. "Missionaries composed the greater part of the 850 Canadians present in China [1949]. Canadian public opinion tended to be decidedly critical of the Kuomintang from the mid 1940s onwards...Several [missionaries] hoped to work within areas controlled by the expanding Chinese Communist forces and sought to influence Canadian opinion and policies to facilitate such accommodation. The tales of brutal repression in mission fields fed a militant anti-Communist rhetoric in Canadian sensitivities. Protestants were more sharply divided." See also the studies on McClure and Endicott.

CCP.<sup>701</sup> She claimed that the structure of the Roman Catholic Church hindered the recruitment of local clergy, keeping missions in a state of religious colonialism.<sup>702</sup>

Anti-Chinese communist literature was published in Québec during the Civil War. Missionary publications announced the dangers emanating from a Red China and its consequences for the Catholic and the Christian world. Predictably, Red China was depicted as an evil nation of materialism denuded of spiritual faith. Québec publishing houses began distributing books concerning the dangers of Chinese communism. Books such as Antonio Dragon's *En mission parmi les Rouges* (1946)<sup>703</sup> and Jean Ho's *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste* (1949) are typical examples.<sup>704</sup> The most detailed Québec book that summarized the conflict between the CCP and Québec missionaries was Leo Paul Bourassa's *Tactiques communistes contre l'Église: L'expérience chinoise* (1962).<sup>705</sup> French books such as Pierre-Xavier Mertens' *L'Église en Chine, situation actuelle* (1948) or books which were translated into French and published in Québec also

---

<sup>701</sup> Anna Louis Strong, "Red China and Catholic Missions" in *The Protestant* vol. VII, no. 9, August-September 1947, pp. 18-21. "A concerted effort is being made by the Roman Catholics to attack the democratic regimes of North China by stories of alleged atrocities perpetrated by Chinese Communists against Roman Catholic missions."

<sup>702</sup> See also Endicott, *James G. Endicott*.

<sup>703</sup> Dragon, *En mission*.

<sup>704</sup> Jean Ho (1902- ), a Sorbonne graduate, held numerous positions for Chiang's regime during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). Jean Ho migrated to Canada thanks to the help of Louis-Prosper Durand and a position as visiting professor in Québec. Ho left China because of communist pressure. Ho also wrote *Malheureux sort des paysans en Chine communiste* (Montréal: Institut Veritas, 1951). See biographical notes of Flavien Charbonneau in Jean Ho, *Ma conversion au Catholicisme* (Montréal: Institut Veritas, 1951).

<sup>705</sup> Léo Paul Bourassa, *Tactiques communistes contre l'Église: l'expérience chinoise* (Montréal: Éditions de l'Heure, 1962).

discussed the dangers of Chinese communism.<sup>706</sup> Their message was clearly in keeping with Cold War rhetoric, denouncing communism as an enemy of the Church and the West. The publication of those books reflects the second stage of the civil war when the GMD and the CCP confronted each other.

All Québec observers strongly criticized the GMD during the final days of the Civil War. They noted with despair the symptoms of the GMD's disintegration. The GMD military was severely criticized by Québec Jesuit Father Audet saying that the army suffered from poor morale and did not know how to use military equipment.<sup>707</sup> In addition, Gérard Filion, director of the newspaper *Le Devoir*, described Chiang Kai-shek and his GMD as a bad horse on which Americans should not have bet.<sup>708</sup> Pierre Mertens indicated that Chinese people's criticism of the GMD did not reach the ears of Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>709</sup> This was an obvious sign that corruption was undermining the credibility and

---

<sup>706</sup> See François Dufay, *En Chine: L'étoile contre la Croix* (Paris: Casterman, 1956); Édouard Duperay *Ambassadeurs de Dieu à la Chine* (Paris: Casterman, 1956); Albert Galter, *Le communisme et l'Église catholique* (Paris: Éditions Fleurus, 1956); R. W. Green, *Mon calvaire en Chine; Calvary in China*, Marguerite Dubois trans. (Paris: Corrêa, 1954); François Houang, *Ame Chinoise et Christianisme* (Paris: Casterman, 1958); Jean Lefevre, *Shanghai: Les Enfants de la Ville* (Paris: Casterman, 1956); and Wei Tsing-sing, Louis, *Le Saint-Siège et la Chine de Pie IX à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions A. Allaire, 1968).

<sup>707</sup> Dragon, *En mission*, p. 87. Father Audet would confess to Antonio Dragon that: "À mon avis, les communistes n'ont pas plus l'intention de faire la paix, que moi, de faire la guerre. Si la guerre reprend, il faut nous attendre au camp de concentration. Les communistes sont mal armés, mais courageux et entraînés; les nationalistes ont de bonnes armes, mais ne savent pas s'en servir. À moins d'un miracle, nous sommes sur une mine qui va sauter."

<sup>708</sup> Gérard Filion, *Rideau de fer au rideau de préjugés* (Montréal: Le Devoir, 1953). Chapter XVIII of his book is entitled "Une mise sur le mauvais cheval." (p. 53) "Ceux qui connaissent bien la Chine affirment que si Tchiang Kai-chek avait donné la terre aux paysans, les communistes n'auraient jamais pris le pouvoir. Elle figurait en tête des réformes proposées par le Kuomintang. Mais Tchiang Kai-chek était trop compromis avec les mandarins pour les exproprier au bénéfice des paysans. [...] C'est mon impression qu'en jetant leur dévolu sur Tchiang Kai-chek, les Américains ont misé sur le mauvais cheval."

<sup>709</sup> Mertens, p. 11. "En Chine libre, les critiques qui attaquent le Parti Républicain ne montent guère jusqu'à lui [Chiang]."

future of the government and demonstrated how improvised GMD rule was in dealing with post-war China. Québec's magazine *Relations* went so far as to write:

Les Chinois reconnaissent que cette aide américaine fut parfois gaspillée, ou détournée... à des fins privées, vers certaines personnalités peu scrupuleuses.

Ainsi parlent les Chinois; mais ensuite, et dans l'intimité, ils reconnaissent que la crise de confiance est aussi interne, et qu'elle repose sur de bonnes raisons, sur des défauts réels.

L'armée de Nankin ne vaut pas l'armée communiste. [...] Les généraux rouges sont d'ailleurs, de l'avis des compétences, meilleurs que leurs adversaires nationalistes, à l'exception de Fu-Tso-yi, le défenseur de Pékin [...] Je ne dirais pas que la masse est sympathique aux communistes: elle est trop de près des réfugiés; elle entend trop de récits pour se prendre facilement aux mirages. Mais elle n'est plus pour personne, communiste ou nationaliste, sauf pour celui qui lui fournira de quoi manger et travailler en paix. Et elle attend, passivement.<sup>710</sup>

Paul Sauriol of *Le Devoir* also mentioned that the GMD was corrupt:

Washington a fini par conclure que ce gouvernement autoritaire ne valait pas grand-chose, et qu'à cause du gaspillage, du profitage, de la vénalité, les secours même abondants auraient été inefficaces.<sup>711</sup>

As well, future mayor of Montréal Jean Drapeau commented negatively on the GMD:

Ce régime avait perdu la confiance du peuple comme celle des armées. Une nuée de fonctionnaires de tous grades ne pensaient qu'à s'enrichir, cependant que les généraux au lieu de lutter contre l'ennemi commun, se combattaient entre eux. Les millions fournis par l'Amérique disparaissaient comme par enchantement et les armes envoyées massivement faisaient elles-mêmes l'objet du trafic le plus éhonté.

---

<sup>710</sup> J. Masson, S. J., "Souffrances de la Chine" in *Relations*, vol. 9, no. 98, February 1949.

<sup>711</sup> *Le Devoir*, 12 May 1949.

Le peuple juge les gouvernements non pas aux principes qu'ils proclament mais à la conduite qu'ils affichent et aux résultats qu'ils produisent.<sup>712</sup>

Another comment in *Relations* explains how the CCP took advantage of the chaos and the incapacity of the GMD to manage the post-war period.

Le désordre augmentait dans les campagnes; les communications étaient sans cesse interrompues par des bandes armées; les troupes gouvernementales elles-mêmes ne parvenaient pas partout à se maintenir sur leurs positions; les prix augmentaient; l'argent perdait de sa valeur; on rencontrait encore parmi les officiels des déficiences manifestes et un esprit de lucre sordide. A tel point que le généralissime dut sermonner, dans une proclamation publique, ceux qui se servaient de leur poste pour extorquer de l'argent. [...] Le malaise croissait dans la population, surtout parmi les étudiants: malaise de désappointement en face du présent et d'inquiétude au sujet de l'avenir...Et l'on fut davantage enclin à prêter l'oreille aux attaques virulentes portées par Yen-an contre Chungking et contre les étrangers.<sup>713</sup>

Québec Catholic missionaries were directly affected by the civil war because their missions were predominantly in rural areas of China. Because Québec missionaries were located in many different regions of China, their comments also reflect the general situation prevailing in the Chinese countryside. Québec missionaries were introduced early to the communist guerillas because the People's Liberation Army (PLA) operated mainly in the countryside.<sup>714</sup> Antonio Dragon describes the communist army in three

---

<sup>712</sup> Jean Drapeau, *Communisme et Moralité Publique* (Montréal: Le Comité de Moralité Publique de Montréal, 1956).

<sup>713</sup> Jean-Paul Dallaire S.J., "La Chine d'après-guerre" in *Relations*, vol. 6, no. 67, July 1946, pp. 217-219.

<sup>714</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 1, January-February 1947, p. 17. "Le petit Séminaire des Missions canadiennes, à Szeping kai, connu des jours mouvementés. Ses bâtisses furent réquisitionnées, au mois d'avril (1946), par les armées communistes."

parts. The first part consisted of a regular army trained in guerilla battles; the second part was trained as urban occupants capable of dealing with administrative work; and the last part was the reserve.<sup>715</sup> The CCP controlled northern and rural areas of China while the GMD concentrated its diminished forces in major cities and in South China. The CCP was also very active in Manchuria.

Québec missionaries in Manchuria were able to observe the ongoing fighting between the GMD and the CCP. The Clercs St-Viateur of the Missions-Étrangères posted in Manchuria witnessed the battles that determined who would control the rich province. The CCP was able to infiltrate Manchuria for many reasons: first, help from the Soviet Union was possible; second, industrial Manchuria provided an urban labour force which could be infiltrated by the CCP; third, natural resources made Manchuria one of the richest province in China; finally, the people of Manchuria had not forgotten Chiang Kai-shek's passive attitude when Japan first invaded the region in 1931 and his apparent nonchalance in recovering Manchuria from the Japanese in 1945. Manchuria was the first important major battleground in which the CCP appeared to be superior to the GMD. The fight for Manchuria became critical for CCP morale and strategy.<sup>716</sup> In March 1946 CCP troops moved massively into Sepingkai, attacking the strategic city<sup>717</sup> which was the scene of

---

<sup>715</sup> Dragon, *En mission parmi les Rouges*, pp. 67-68. "On peut, pour analyser sa force, diviser ses organismes en trois groupes: Les armées régulières, troupes de chocs. Organisent aussitôt selon les principes et les méthodes communistes. Séduction des paysans. L'armée d'occupation et l'administration civile. Bureau d'administration. La structure de ce pouvoir administratif est savamment bâtie: par exemple, pour dix familles d'un village, un petit chef est constitué; ces petits chefs obéissent à un autre plus grand qui commande tout le village. Jusqu'au chef Mao tzu tung. L'armée auxiliaire. Ramassis de tout ce qui est inacceptable pour les autres."

<sup>716</sup> For a more complete detail of the Manchuria battle consult Spence, pp. 491-498.

intense fighting for a month before it fell into communist hands<sup>718</sup> and was subsequently retaken by the GMD.<sup>719</sup> The battle signified the limit to which Chiang could extend his forces; all the rural areas of Manchuria remained in the hands of the CCP.

The last phase of the civil war was characterized by the near complete disintegration of the GMD. 1947 seem to have been the year when the balance tilted in favor of the CCP. Most cities fell to CCP attacks; the United States began pulling out of China, leaving no one as a potential referee. In addition, in late 1947 the Canadian Department of External Affairs reached the decision to stop endorsing the GMD and to assume a more neutral stand in the conflict thereafter.<sup>720</sup>

All over China, Quebecers were front-row witnesses to the disintegration of the GMD.<sup>721</sup> Aside from the successful attack of the GMD on Yan'an, the former CCP

---

<sup>717</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 8, p. 160. "Dès la première offensive communiste notre mission de Tung Leao devint zone de guerre. [...] Dans leur rapide offensive les communistes s'emparent des villes les unes après les autres. [...] La ville de Szepingkai est bientôt entourée. Là se livre la bataille la plus sauvage et la plus sanglante de toute la guerre. La moitié de la ville est détruite."

<sup>718</sup> Alphonse Dubé, "Lintung: Rapport de nos missions de Mandchourie 1945-1946" in *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 1, January-February 1947, p. 16. "Une armée de deux ou trois milles hommes, levée et organisée par le gouvernement communiste chinois installé à Yennan (sic), passe la Grande Muraille."

<sup>719</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 2, no. 18, November-December 1946, p. 630. "Communistes et nationalistes chinois se disputèrent Szepingkai pendant de longs mois. Le siège le plus mémorable et le plus destructeurs fut celui des mois de mars et avril 1946. Nos missionnaires durent vivre 32 jours et 32 nuits dans des caves." (p. 632) Les soldats nationalistes sont bien vêtus, en particulier leurs chandails viennent du Canada." I have been unable to verify if these sweaters were made in Québec.

<sup>720</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 29. "These [Canadian military] shipments continued into the early 1948 despite Department of External Affairs' growing unease over possible political ramifications in supplying an unpopular military regime."

<sup>721</sup> Québec's Jesuit Xuzhou mission in Northern Jiangsu, like the city of Sepingkai in Manchuria, represented a crossroads for rail and transport. Therefore, the city was of strategic importance. See Pierre-Xavier



headquarters,<sup>722</sup> Québec sources reported the multiple losses of the GMD to CCP forces. In the spring of 1947 Canadian and Québec missionaries of the United Church abandoned their North Henan mission.<sup>723</sup> The Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception also had to flee Manchuria during the spring of 1947; they dispersed to different parts of China and ultimately, to the Philippines.<sup>724</sup> Also in Manchuria, the communist guerillas detained Antonio Bonin (1901-1978) from the Missions-Étrangères from late 1947 to August 8, 1948 before releasing him.<sup>725</sup> Bonin returned to his mission near Seping kai which was still under communist influence. Didace Arcand also had to abandon his Shandong mission during the summer of 1947.<sup>726</sup> He was able to return to his mission only after the GMD temporarily retook the area.<sup>727</sup> The same level of fighting took place

---

Mertens, p. 16. "Xuzhou La ville, située à la croisée de deux lignes de chemin de fer, devint un point stratégique de première importance et...une bonne cible pour les bombes!"

<sup>722</sup> Mertens, p. 7. "Le 19 mars 1947, à huit heures du matin, l'armée nationaliste est entrée à Yen-an. Le maréchal Tsiang venait de traverser la ville avec plusieurs divisions de l'armée nationale dont nous avons admiré l'air martial." The need to show such power was to undermine the morale of the communists and their sympathizers. It is to be noted that most of the communist elite had left Yan'an for other parts of China and Manchuria. Yan'an would be recaptured by the CCP in 1948.

<sup>723</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 31. Shulman, p. 14.

<sup>724</sup> Groulx, p. 104. "En 1947, la Mandchourie vient de succomber sous les assauts des communistes. Trente religieuses Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception se résignent à la fuite. Quelques-unes, nous l'avons vu, ont pu gagner Süchow. Onze néanmoins ne réussissent point à franchir la zone communiste. La plupart se rendent à Tsungming. Le 19 décembre 1948, accompagnées de leurs soeurs de Süchow, elles aussi forcées de s'enfuir de leur poste, les religieuses de Tsungming prennent la route des Philippines."

<sup>725</sup> Antonio Bonin, *Mon témoignage* (Montréal: Éditions Missions-Étrangères, 1955).

<sup>726</sup> Rural Shandong and Northern Jiangsu were already under the influence of the CCP in 1946. Antonio Dragon details which Quebec missionaries were working under communist local government. See Antonio Dragon. *En mission*, p. 65. "Voici maintenant ceux qui vivent avec les Rouges: Les PP. Audet et Lévesque à Fenghsien; Les PP. Courchesne et Dansereau à Peih sien; Le P. Demers à Howkiachwang Le P. Proulx à Siaohsien; Les PP. Bioileau et Bérubé à Yangchwangtsi; Les PP. Laflèche et Laramée à Tasukia; Le P. Lavarière à Lungkutsi."

<sup>727</sup> The CCP would finally control all Shandong province in late 1948. Coiteux, p. 55. "2 sept. 1947. Les Nationalistes ont chassé les Rouges de notre mission. Nous allons reprendre le travail d'évangélisation. Car ne sera pas aussi facile qu'autrefois. Les Rouges ont perverti bien des gens et leur ont fait comprendre que la religion n'est plus nécessaire."

in Datong, Shanxi province.<sup>728</sup> At the end of 1947, South China also began to feel the impact of the CCP advance. The Soeurs Notre-Dame des Anges noted that communists in Fujian province had begun to initiate land reform policies in rural areas.<sup>729</sup>

Only a few missionaries remained confident about the GMD and the future of Christianity in China.<sup>730</sup> In 1948, Radio-Canada broadcasted a surrealist interview with Dr. Lou from the Université Aurore of Shanghai. Dr. Lou was one of the few who still believed in Chiang Kai-shek:

Nous avons confiance dans l'avenir de notre gouvernement et en notre chef, le Généralissime Chiang Kai-shek, car nous luttons contre la violence du mal, contre la domination par la force [...] Il a participé à la révolution contre une dynastie déchue, relevé et amélioré les conditions sociales de notre pays, déclaré la guerre et résisté, le premier, à l'impérialisme japonais.

Question: Dr. Lou, y-a-t-il un parti communiste chinois ou gouvernement communiste chinois propre ou reconnu comme tel?

Answer: Pour nous Chinois, il n'y a pas de parti communiste ou gouvernement communiste, mais il y a une armée communiste sous les ordres de Moscou.<sup>731</sup>

André Fortin of the Missions-Étrangères du Québec showed the same optimism as Dr. Lou even though the CCP was on the verge of victory.

---

<sup>728</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 12, November-December 1948, p. 272. "Le R. P. Jacques Leyssen (Mission Scheult Belge) est de passage au Canada et aux États-Unis afin de recueillir des aumônes qui lui permettront de reconstruire le Grand Séminaire de Datong détruit par les communistes."

<sup>729</sup> Mahomey, p. 256. "Les rouges procèdent à la distribution des terres et du bétail, réduisent le taux d'intérêt et le montant des dettes, répriment sévèrement les petits vols et font cultiver de l'opium."

<sup>730</sup> Richard C. Bush, *Religion in Communist China* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), p. 39. "The Methodist Board of Missions, at its annual meeting in January, 1949, pledged to carry on its missionary work in China despite dangers and obstacles created by the Chinese civil war."

<sup>731</sup> "La Chine Confiante" in *Le Brigand*, no. 110, February-March 1948.

Le travail presse, car la Chine est présentement à un nouveau tournant de son histoire politique et religieuse. Les communistes, maîtres pratiquement de cet immense pays, essayent par tous les moyens de gagner le peuple à leur cause. L'Église sortira plus forte qu'auparavant et j'ai confiance un jour, une autre Cité s'élèvera.<sup>732</sup>

Québec Jesuit Father Évariste Parent saw the unification of China from a Québec perspective. For Parent, certain border regions of China had not yet assimilated Chinese culture and attempts to control such a vast territory needed to be decentralized. Parent proposed provincial autonomy. With huge obstacles working against the reunification of China, Parent considered the GMD incapable of securing and retaining power in the immediate future. Considering the fact that Parent's article was written in the spring of 1948, his analysis of the GMD was correct; however, scanty information on the CCP prevented him from predicting that the Communists would be able to reunify China as quickly as they did.

L'UNITÉ d'une nation en tant qu'elle forme un État a pour condition préalable l'unité morale. Or, il y a trois grands obstacles à cette unité morale chez le peuple chinois: [1] *La complexité des races*; [2] *Le caractère* indépendant de chaque région avec ses traditions et ses conceptions séculaires, que dire maintenant du manque d'unité dans la langue! [3] *Insuffisance extrême des moyens* de communication. Il faut le consentement des Chinois eux-mêmes et surtout le renoncement volontaire de tous les partis à l'oeuvre difficile de l'unification de la Chine sous un seul gouvernement, sous une seule administration; il faudrait l'adhésion de tous ces partis à un projet d'autonomie provinciale pour servir de base

---

<sup>732</sup> André Fortin, pmé, "Conceptions et pratiques religieuses du peuple chinois" in *Union Missionnaire du Clergé, La valeur religieuse des religions païennes* (Québec: Union Missionnaire du Clergé, 1950), pp. 99-110.

à une Fédération, projet qui n'est pas nouveau, même chez les Chinois. Or là, est la grande difficulté, une difficulté probablement insurmontable d'ici longtemps.<sup>733</sup>

The rapid disintegration of the GMD directly affected Québec missionaries. When the capital of Manchuria, Changchun, fell in March 1948, no Québec missionaries believed that the GMD could win the Civil War.<sup>734</sup> The *Missions-Étrangères du Québec* announced that the communists were establishing a Soviet republic in Manchuria.<sup>735</sup> The Anglican mission of Kaifeng closed,<sup>736</sup> the Québec Sisters of Saint-Paul left their mission,<sup>737</sup> and the strategic city of Xuzhou fell to the communists on December 1, 1948.<sup>738</sup> Jesuit students were escorted out of Beijing before the communist takeover in January 1949.<sup>739</sup> From then on, it was only a matter of time before the CCP took control

---

<sup>733</sup> Évariste Parent, "Pourquoi l'unité chinoise a toujours été si difficile?" in *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 9, May-June 1948.

<sup>734</sup> Groulx, p. 120. "En mars 1948, après un quatrième siège, Szeping kai est tombée aux mains des révolutionnaires communistes qui l'encerclaient depuis six mois. Le nouveau préfet apostolique Mgr Gustave Prévost, a dû fuir, se réfugier au Petit Séminaire de Fushun où il enseigne." To know more about Gustave Prévost and his numerous attempts to work in China, consult Hélène-Andrée Bizier, *Le Noir et le Rouge*. See also *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 60-64 for the day to day battle between Communists and the Guomindang in Manchuria.

<sup>735</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 13, January-February 1949, p. 294. "Jusqu'à présent les communistes ont enregistré des victoires sur presque tous les fronts. Au nord, ils ont capturé Changchun, capitale de la Mandchourie, Moukden ainsi que la ville de Kin Tcheou, centre ferroviaire et commercial important sur la ligne Moukden-Pékin. Ils forcent par ce fait les troupes nationalistes à évacuer toute la Mandchourie, et auront ainsi les mains libres pour établir une république rouge indépendante."

<sup>736</sup> Some Montréal missionaries also worked for the Anglican Church.

<sup>737</sup> Antoine Bernard, p. 496. "Chine, à partir de 1949, les Soeurs de Saint-Paul ont dû abandonner leurs postes, sauf les maisons de Hong Kong et de Macao où survit la lointaine tradition de 1848. De même au Nord-Vietnam, le communisme débordant, intolérant, a forcé à la retraite les Chartraines bienfaitrices du pays. Pourtant, quatre maisons sont restées ouvertes ici, où s'accrochent dix-huit «volontaires»."

<sup>738</sup> Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 365.

<sup>739</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 118, December 1948, p. 10. Father Louis Bouchard at the CKAC radio station. "Les autorités religieuses de Chine ont jugé bon de donner à tous les missionnaires des directives claires et

of the country with a minimum of casualties.<sup>740</sup> The GMD capital of Nanjing was captured in April 1949 and Shanghai fell the following month.<sup>741</sup> The remaining cities in South China surrendered by the end of 1949. Guangzhou resisted until October and so did Shantou on the coast of the Taiwan Strait.<sup>742</sup> Chiang Kai-shek fled into exile on the island of Taiwan in 1949 until his death in 1975. On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Québec's missionary involvement in China at the end of the Chinese civil war took two divergent paths. In one way, the civil war fostered the departure of Quebecers from China. Protestant missionaries were the main group to exit China. Québec Protestant missionaries had begun their disengagement from China in 1948, but most Catholics had refused to leave China.<sup>743</sup> On the other hand, some Catholic missionaries preferred to stay in China despite communism, obeying Rome. Their decision to stay in China created numerous conflicts with the new Chinese regime. Resignation, anxiety,<sup>744</sup>

---

précises. C'est en vertu du principe de la prudence que les Supérieurs ont fait évacuer Péking les 18 jeunes Jésuites étudiants et de Suchow, une douzaine de Pères âgés ou malades..."

<sup>740</sup> Unfortunately, I haven't found any comments by Pierre Elliot Trudeau (1919-2000) concerning the fall of the GMD even though he was in China for a brief moment in the Spring of 1949. Trudeau became Canada's Prime Minister (1968-1979, 1980-1984), and was a major figure in the Canadian recognition of the PRC. Trudeau also visited China in 1960 among a group of twelve people invited by the Chinese government. The outcome of the visit was a book co-authored with Jacques Hébert, *Deux innocents en Chine rouge* (Montréal: les Éditions de l'Homme, 1961).

<sup>741</sup> *Le Devoir*, 11 October 1949.

<sup>742</sup> Mahomey, p. 261. "Swatow fut libérée le 23 octobre 1949."

<sup>743</sup> Dragon, *En mission parmi les rouges*, p. 126. The author said that "je suis certain que tous les Pères sont prêts, à tout risque, à rester à leur poste."

<sup>744</sup> See *Le Brigand*. no. 117, November 1948. "Samedi. On annonce l'arrivée des nationalistes. Les palous [Communists] s'enfuient. Nous sommes inondés de soldats. Lundi. L'armée nationaliste s'en va, les palous reviennent....et ainsi de suite pendant des mois! C'est plutôt énervant!"

and a will to remain in Red China marked the general attitude of Québec's Catholic missionaries during the last year of GMD rule.<sup>745</sup> During the CCP takeover in 1949, Protestant missionaries were more optimistic than their Catholic colleagues about the possibility of continuing work in China but left their missions in the hands of Chinese Protestant priests; they also believed that cooperation with the communists was feasible.<sup>746</sup> Most of the Protestant missionaries believed that it was possible to work with the Chinese communists,<sup>747</sup> while Québec Catholic missionaries believed that the CCP should be resisted and they remained at their posts.

The civil war in China created a number of frustrations for Québec. All the investment put into the reconstruction of China seem to have been futile. Missionaries, diplomats and traders saw China disintegrate into chaos until the victory of communism. The initial optimism expressed in the early days of the civil war changed to anxiety in the midst of the war. Until mid-1947, most diplomats, missionaries and lay Quebecers

---

<sup>745</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 118, December 1948, p. 10. "Aussi lorsque l'ambassadeur du Canada à Nanking envoya un avion à Suchow pour évacuer nos missionnaires avant que les troupes communistes ne s'emparent de la ville, les six petites soeurs canadiennes de l'Immaculée-Conception et tous nos missionnaires valides, Son Excellence Mgr Côté en tête, refusèrent d'embarquer." Rosario Renaud argues that the American government also sent a plane for Mgr Côté on the eve of the Communist takeover. See Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 362.

<sup>746</sup> Bush, p. 170. "The process by which the Protestant movement in China came under Communist direction and control moved at a much faster pace than did the parallel process in the Catholic Church...Protestant leaders who faced the change in government with a measure of guarded hope. Such men saw little hope for the Nationalist cause, in fact were disgusted with the corruption, inflation, and incompetence, which had dogged the Nationalists. Furthermore, there were at least a few Protestants who were excited by the possibilities of the new situation and who actively sought to cooperate with the Communists."

<sup>747</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49. "The story of how the Catholic missionaries fared under the Communist regime is considerably different from the story sketched of Protestants. Catholics shared little of the optimism with which Protestants assessed possibilities under the Communists, largely because of what happened before the Second World War."

supported and believed in the GMD. From that time onward, it is clear that the tone of most of the Québec and Canada observers changes dramatically, foreseeing the defeat of the GMD and the rise to power of Mao Zedong.

By the end of this period, Quebecers were overwhelmingly criticizing the GMD for its inability to prevent a CCP victory. Even though most Quebecers initially supported the GMD at the beginning of the civil war, almost everyone also criticized the GMD for its performance. In newspapers, periodicals, and at conferences, the nearly unanimous view of Quebecers who spoke in this way was that the GMD was not capable of governing China. The Chinese civil war fostered the publication of anti-Communist literature in Québec. Not surprisingly, Chinese communism was the target because China represented the country with which most Québec missionaries were familiar. Anti-Communist literature was clearly in tune with Cold War rhetoric and ideas. Ideology prevented any rapprochement between a “Red” China and Québec Catholic missionaries.

The Chinese civil war signaled a major shift in Québec’s perception of China. Québec’s involvement in China turned from a predominately philanthropical and religious enterprise to a more ideological and political challenge. Trade had vanished because of the Civil War and the non-recognition of the CCP government by Canadian authorities finally killed any trading prospects. Chinese communism became a source of concern for some Quebecers. In the wake of the GMD defeat, the emergence of Québec

literature on Chinese communism demonstrates that what was going on in China affected Québec. The same could be said for Canada and the United States.



## **PART FOUR**

### **Québec's Disengagement from China (1949-1957)**

Chinese governments have dealt with reconstruction and reunification on numerous occasions. Their experience in changing dynasties and absorbing new military-political elements - often neighboring nationalities- demonstrates a methodological recipe for recovering sovereignty both psychologically and territorially. This is why the Chinese reunification must be analyzed in two ways: psychologically and politically.

The final part of the thesis explores Québec's two-fold disengagement from China. First, Québec suffered from the decision of the new Chinese government to nationalize religion. The historical pattern of past Chinese government interference in religious affairs was intended to ensure monopoly of power by the state. The CCP slowly infiltrated the Christian church before making its final move against religion. As it turned out, Québec missionaries were privileged witnesses of the CCP's policy toward religion. Québec missionaries' comments during early communist rule reveal the interesting methods that the new Chinese government used to recover its sovereignty, both psychologically and politically. Second, the international situation forced the disengagement of Québec from China. Québec's Cold War against China had a religious dimension because Québec Catholic missionaries were the main domestic lobby group pressuring the Canadian government not to recognize the new government of China. Quebecers began looking at China in a different light during the Korean War (1950-1953); it was no longer a country in need of rejuvenation, but was becoming a world power with which to reckon.

## Chapter VII

### China's Nationalization of Religion and its Impact on Québec Missionaries

Religion has frequently served as a vehicle for cultural and intellectual change from one civilization to another. The introduction of a new religion in a distant country can alter the secular forms of government, power, and elite security. Christianity in China posed these problems. This was particularly true for Québec and China. The undermining of Chinese secular power by the Christian clergy during the nineteenth century provoked a negative reaction from the Confucian elite who began linking Christianity with social upheaval and the disintegration of the state. The Chinese government's nationalization of religion, made possible by the so-called Triple Autonomy Policy (TAP), produced a form of government that the modern West could not understand. Instead of separating religion and government, the Chinese made sure that religious affairs were supervised by the state.<sup>748</sup>

This chapter argues that the Chinese nationalization of religion accelerated the disengagement of Québec from China. It will first explain how the Chinese state dealt

---

<sup>748</sup> See Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Gernet argues that in Chinese concepts, everything depended upon everything else, and the historic character of mental schemata stands out clearly in contrast to the Western mind. The Chinese refused to dissociate from the universe the forces that animate it. For Gernet, the religious phenomena in China had a different function, unlike the West, separation between the spiritual and temporal was unthinkable.

with religion in order to fully understand why Québec missionaries were confronted by the CCP's nationalization of religion. The CCP's infiltration of Québec Catholic missions suggests that the communist party operated in a deliberate matter. The initiation of the TAP will be analyzed to show that the Catholic Church was the principal target. The TAP promised autonomy in financing, missionary enterprises and the nominations of priests. The Catholic Church's foreignness and hierarchy were the main obstacles to the nationalization of religion in China. Combined with political campaigns aimed at discrediting the Catholic Church, the CCP finally expelled all Québec missionaries from China's territory.

One of the major components of "liberation" for China was its ability to regain control over religion. The CCP's decision to nationalize its clergy reflects past Chinese governments that subordinated religious affairs to the state. Chinese dynastic governments often reverted to the historical past practice of controlling religious clergies. The success of communism permitted full state control over the apparatus of the different religions of China. The CCP, by subjugating the religious leadership of China, reproduced the historical pattern of gaining control over the clergy. This pattern is not revolutionary; it had been exerted in the past not only against Christianity, but also against other religions as well. What may seem reactionary to Western eyes may not necessarily be the case in China. Religion has always been subordinated to the state in China. China represents probably the most secular form of government that ever existed in the world. True, many religious individuals gravitated around the emperor, but they were tolerated mainly because of their knowledge and source of power.

The Chinese state rarely adopted any religion during its millennium history.<sup>749</sup> From the early times, priests, shamans and monks from different religions played a role in the Chinese government. Religious groups were often suspected and many were persecuted to ensure a secular state. The legal current and the humanist political philosophy (Confucianism) of China served as a shield against any religious power over the state. Confucianism transformed by a heavy dose of Legalism was adopted as the core of Chinese political philosophy. Daoism and Buddhism flourished outside government walls. However, the pragmatic current (Confucian and Legalism) reserved to itself the right to interfere in monastic life. Either by meddling in the clerical process or by land reforms, Chinese governments made no apologies in their efforts to control clergies. It was the Confucian bureaucracy that fought religious influence, rarely emperors. In other words, this traditional approach to religion by the CCP in the twentieth century is a continuation of past practice.

The nationalization of religion was important for the China's CCP-led rejuvenation. Like many Québec missionaries, Professor Donald MacInnis sees religion as a tool for China's rebirth.<sup>750</sup> MacInnis argues that the CCP believed that religion was a main obstacle for China's political rebirth. Chinese Catholic priest François Houang

---

<sup>749</sup> Stockwell, p. 222. "Ever since at least the Song Dynasty, the prevailing view of human nature among the Chinese has been that persons are born good. It is an optimistic view, and is in direct contrast to the traditional European Christian view of human beings as bearers of original sin."

<sup>750</sup> Donald E. MacInnis, *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China; a Documentary History* (New York, Macmillan, 1972), p. xxi. "The traditional religions were seen as strongholds for indigenous reactionary forces, while Protestant and Catholic Christianity, with strong financial and emotional ties to

maintains that the tolerant Chinese state intervenes in religious affairs to thwart religions from gaining secular power. For Houang, the CCP appears more like the traditional practice of the Chinese state to overcome any challenge to political power, rather than a war against religious belief.

La tolérance: L'amour de l'harmonie suscite chez les Chinois une attitude de tolérance envers toutes les religions. Non que la Chine n'ait jamais connu de persécutions au cours de son histoire, mais ces persécutions, assez rares et conduites par l'État, ont été inspirées non par de purs motifs idéologiques, mais par le désir d'empêcher un groupe religieux agressif de renverser l'ordre politique existant ou de menacer la structure même de la société.<sup>751</sup>

The idea of an autonomous Chinese Catholic Church in China began as early as the Catholic missionary movement in China, but, it was only in the 1930s that Chinese Catholic priests began to appear. The first signs of the TAP appeared in Chinese regions under Japanese influence in the 1930's. Hamish Ion notes that Taiwan and Manchuria experienced "autonomist" movements, which promoted the self-determination of the Asian Christian Church in the 1930's.<sup>752</sup> Japanese Catholic priests were sent by the Japanese government to encourage the development of an "Asia to Asians" approach in missions. The Vatican's recognition of the Shinto cult and the Confucian rites opened the way to sinicize the Christian Church in China. In addition, the Vietminh's success in dividing the

---

mission agencies in Western countries, was an obvious affront to the powerful mood of independence, liberation and national rebirth that swept the country."

<sup>751</sup> Houang, p. 43. The author identifies three qualities of the Chinese civilization: harmony, tolerance, and estheticism. Houang argues that Chinese ethics are compatible with Christians by comparing Jesus and Mozi.

<sup>752</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Dark Valley*, see chapter 4 entitled The Shrine Question, pp. 81-112.

Catholic clergy by using native priests provided an effective model which the Chinese could emulate.<sup>753</sup>

The Vatican ordered Québec missionaries to stay in China despite the communist revolution. The very nature of communism prevented Québec missionaries from achieving a rapprochement with the CCP. The Pope instructed all Catholic missionaries to stay in China and advised them not to collaborate with the new regime.<sup>754</sup>

The response of most Catholic missionaries to the victory of the communists in 1949 was to dig in their heels and refuse to cooperate with the new government. While many Protestant missionaries left China of their own free will after the revolution, the Catholic authorities ordered their missionaries to stay. [...] Several times the pope and others officials in Rome instructed Chinese Catholic clergy persons and believers to boycott all government policies. Rome instructed them not to take part in any activities organized by the government, not to read magazines or newspapers put out by the government, not to join trade unions, not to join the women or youth federations, not to co-operate with the government in any way.<sup>755</sup>

The rigidity of the structure of the Catholic Church impacted on Québec's missions in Communist China. Confrontation between the Pope and communism had been the official Vatican policy since 1937 when Pope Pius XI had written his encyclical message

---

<sup>753</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 27, 15 May 1951, p. 21.

<sup>754</sup> Bush, p. 62. "The Catholic missionaries had to deal with an additional factor -his absolute loyalty to the Vatican. Since the Vatican was heralded as a bulwark against communism, Catholic missionaries were in a highly vulnerable position in a country which had recently come under the control of a militant communist government."

<sup>755</sup> Stockwell, pp. 169-170.

*Divini Redemptoris* instructing all Catholics world-wide to fight communism.<sup>756</sup> At about the same period, the Vatican proceeded to change its Asian policy. The Vatican began easing its restrictions on the practice of Shinto (1935) and Confucianism (1939) to encourage the evangelization of Asians.<sup>757</sup> Unfortunately, the end of the Confucian Rites prohibition (1724-1939) in the Catholic Church has been ignored as a subject of historical analysis. No historical research explores this rapprochement between the Papacy and China. Only Father Joseph-Louis Lavoie discusses the Rites Controversy, the subsequent ban on Confucian Rites and the damaging effect that it had on Catholicism in China. In the late 1930s Lavoie believed that the Vatican should ease restrictions on Chinese rituals.<sup>758</sup>

Québec sources are relatively silent about the Vatican's diplomatic blitz to accept Chinese rites within the Catholic Church.<sup>759</sup> In 1939 the Vatican announced the *Summi*

---

<sup>756</sup> S.S. Pie XI, *Encyclique Divini Redemptoris sur le communisme athée*, Québec: Tract No. 13 de l'Action Catholique, 1937.

<sup>757</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 159.

<sup>758</sup> *Le Brigand*, no. 56, May 1956. "Mal renseignée, Rome condamna. Sans les intrigues, elle eût approuvé. Depuis quelques années déjà, en effet, son Délégué apostolique à Pékin ne se gêne pas de s'associer aux cortèges funèbres..."

<sup>759</sup> As early as 1927, MIC missionaries identified five reasons why the Chinese were not converting to Christianity. The fifth reason explains the end of the Rites Controversy. *Le Précurseur*, vol. 4, no. 3, November-December 1927, p. 137. "Quelles sont les raisons de l'aversion du peuple chinois pour le Christianisme? Cinq causes, trois principales: [1] On reproche au christianisme d'être une religion étrangère. [2] La seconde prétend se baser sur les injustices des nations étrangères: guerre à l'opium, occupation du Kiaotchou, de Wei-Hai-Wei, de Port-Arthur, etc. Causes principales: [3] la plus forte, consiste dans l'orgueil luciférien des lettrés, vrais pharisiens, avides de face, qui ne consentiront jamais à reconnaître que la Chine, depuis des milliers d'années, ait fait fausse route en suivant de fausses religions. [4] C'est le matérialisme abject de ce peuple, qui veut s'assouvir des jouissances de la vie présente. [5] C'est le culte des morts cher au peuple, et le culte de Confucius, cher aux lettrés."

*Pontificatus*<sup>760</sup> which allowed Chinese Catholics to practice Confucian rites including ancestor worship.<sup>761</sup> This move was intended to attract a larger number of Chinese to Catholicism and to ensure easier recruitment for the Chinese Catholic clergy.<sup>762</sup> According to Jacques Langlais, Québec missionaries were unprepared when discussion on the Chinese rites emerged. Only Fathers Lavoie<sup>763</sup> and Édouard Lafortune<sup>764</sup> wrote positively about tolerance of Chinese rites within Roman Catholic rituals.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) dramatically changed Québec/China relations in two ways. First, the Chinese government signaled that missionaries were no longer needed for the reconstruction of the country. Religious matters, education and hospitals were to be handed over to Chinese authorities. Missionaries, Québec's main group in China became irrelevant and most of them were forced into exile. The implementation of the TAP and the establishment of the Chinese Patriotic Church (1957) made any Québec Catholic missionary work in China impossible. Second, the Cold War further isolated Québec from the PRC; communism meant that trade and diplomatic recognition were almost impossible.

---

<sup>760</sup> Édouard Duperray, *Ambassadeurs de Dieu à la Chine* (Paris: Casterman, 1956), pp. 230-232.

<sup>761</sup> *Ville-Marie missionnaire 1642-1942*, p. 95. Radio interview on China with a father from the Missions-Étrangères. "Mais ce qui donne à la religion chrétienne le plus de chance d'être bien vue et admise par le païen chinois, c'est que tous les enseignements de la morale catholique sont déjà reconnus comme préceptes de vertu chez leurs plus grands philosophes classiques. La morale de Confucius, par exemple, est presque entièrement conforme à la loi naturelle."

<sup>762</sup> Yun, p. 35. "Dès lors, il ne s'agira plus d'acculturation, c'est-à-dire d'occidentaliser, mais de faire pénétrer le message évangélique dans la culture chinoise, ce qui s'appelle l'inculturation."

<sup>763</sup> Langlais, pp. 257-260.

<sup>764</sup> Lafortune, pp. 127-128.



Québec missionary contact with the communists suggested that the CCP was disciplined, clever in infiltrating the Catholic Church and committed to its cause. The atheist view of dialectical materialism, the essence of the Marxist doctrine, gave the Chinese a strong rhetoric to confront the "backward" attitude of old beliefs such as religion.<sup>765</sup> For the *Missions Saint-Viateur*, communists were out to remake the mind of the Chinese; their revolution was social, ideological, and universal.<sup>766</sup> On the other hand, some Québec missionaries such as Jean Ho believed that the Chinese were not communists at heart, although secular in mind.<sup>767</sup>

Québec missionaries reported that the CCP operated on a planned basis by slowly infiltrating the Christian missions. Students at Catholic missions became spies for the

---

<sup>765</sup> MacInnis, p. xx. "The Chinese Communist are thoroughly Marxist in their view of religion, seeing it at best as a useless excrescence of primitive or bourgeois society, and at worst as the instrument used by feudalistic oppressors, foreign imperialists and counter-revolutionaries to subvert and exploit the Chinese masses." Bush, p. 9. "Taoist and folk religions practices were more and more dismissed as superstitions for back country rustics when the Communists equated this religious potpourri with the feudalism they were out to destroy."

<sup>766</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 86, June, 1956. "La persécution religieuse ne peut être séparée de la révolution universelle et c'est pourquoi l'Église n'a pas de place en régime communiste...le communisme attaque l'Église parce que, tant qu'elle sera debout, l'homme marxiste ne pourra naître, cet homme qui est l'enjeu du débat..."

<sup>767</sup> Jean Ho, *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste*, p. 16. "La Chine en bloc n'est pas communiste. La majorité de sa population demeure fidèle à sa tradition religieuse et morale, rejette l'athéisme, le matérialisme marxiste. La majeure partie des communistes chinois est constituée de malheureux qui ont été bernés par des meneurs formés par les Russes." Jean Ho intentionally exaggerates the faith of Chinese people in religion. In fact, Ho totally ignores the fact that China was a lay civilization capable of enduring for centuries, probably the most successful example in the history of humanity. Referring to Ho's text, "tradition religieuse et morale," morale stands for Confucianism, and "matérialisme marxiste" truly implies that Marxism was a new philosophy in China, however, materialism implies that China was a pragmatic society not a contemplative one like the Christian West during the Middle Ages.

CCP.<sup>768</sup> After the infiltration of schools,<sup>769</sup> political infiltration and indoctrination followed. After a year in power, the CCP understood more deeply the functioning of the missions and began to intervene in religious affairs.<sup>770</sup> By 1951 Québec missionaries were overwhelmingly complaining about the compulsory political seminars held by the CCP.<sup>771</sup> Those seminars contrasted science with religion and materialism with metaphysics.<sup>772</sup> The CCP introduced compulsory courses on Marxism in missionary schools;<sup>773</sup> students of the Communist Youth league argued that religion would wither away as science became the new truth. Communist students were intent on stamping out religion, a symbol of feudalism. The infiltration by the Communists was the first step in a long-term policy focused on eliminating competing ideologies. Lionel Groulx summarized CCP plans as follows:

---

<sup>768</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 62, April 1954. "Son auditoire [Father Pilon of the Clercs Saint-Viateur] ne se compose pas seulement de fidèles sympathiques. Il y a là des espions, des apostats même."

<sup>769</sup> *Le Brigand*, December 1949, no. 127. "L'armée communiste est à peine à Suchow que commence le travail de démantèlement du collège Saint-Louis. Les Communistes y introduisent immédiatement un contrôleur et deux professeurs, représentants du parti et propagateurs de ses idées."

<sup>770</sup> Bush, p. 30. "Despite popular articles and books on Communist oppression of religion, there is evidence to indicate that the Chinese Communists move cautiously and carefully. There are indications that officials became increasingly aware of the complexities involved in dealing with religious leaders and their groups, resulting in an increasing sophistication in methods for handling them."

<sup>771</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa, *Tactiques communistes*, p. 24. "À Peking encore, dans un cercle d'études dont le sujet était la religion qu'il faut détruire, le directeur disait: «En général, quoique pas toujours, il est facile de gagner les Protestants à notre point de vue. Quant aux Catholiques, c'est pratiquement impossible »."

<sup>772</sup> Bush, p. 17. The author argues that "the Chinese Communist thesis: religion arose in primitive society because man feared the forces of nature." (p. 35) "Liu Chün-wang and Yu Hsiang [from the Religion Affairs Bureau] assert that the task of a Marxist-Leninist political party with respect to religious groups should be to eliminate religious roots and influences gradually among the masses by the spread of knowledge and education, as well by the removal of the masses' fear of natural forces."

<sup>773</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. "[The] North China Higher Education Committee announced in the fall of 1949 that: Every university, college, academy, and normal school must require all students in all departments to follow courses in historic and dialectic materialism and in the doctrine of the New Democracy." (p. 76) These courses "were introduced in all schools: Historical Materialism and Social Revolution, Principles of the New Democracy, Political Economy, and the History of Social Development."

Contre l'Église, la politique communiste des Chinois parut se garder de ce que l'on pourrait appeler la persécution violente. La grande ennemie, ils s'appliqueront à la détruire plus savamment en la minant à l'intérieur. En politique, en économie, dans le domaine social, la tactique des communistes reste identique: réduire en poudre les structures anciennes pour les remplacer par celles du système. [...] Surtout substitution de l'idéologie marxiste au dogme chrétien; rupture avec Rome, église nationale. Préparation savante, acharnée d'un schisme; confiscations de toutes les écoles, universités, orphelinats, hôpitaux catholiques. Programme qui sera réalisé avec un raffinement de ruse et de ténacité, une logique infernale.<sup>774</sup>

Léo-Paul Bourassa is the Québec missionary who wrote most extensively about the infiltration of religion by Chinese communism. Bourassa's book *Tactiques communistes contre l'Église. L'expérience chinoise* (1962) identified five different steps by which the communist government infiltrated the Church. First, CCP infiltrators became members of the Légion de Marie (an association of Catholic Christians to promote links with the Vatican); second, they became the most zealous students to secure the sympathy of their professors; third, the infiltrators began to demand some reforms (notably more oriented towards Chinese topics); fourth, infiltrators indoctrinated domestics with communist ideology<sup>775</sup> at schools and missions; and finally, they demanded less foreign influence within the Chinese Christian Church. After the infiltration of the Church, the CCP began the second offensive, which consisted of taking control of missions and schools, their preferred targets. The CCP pressured families not

---

<sup>774</sup> Groulx, pp. 94-95.

<sup>775</sup> F. Legrand, p. 5. "L'Église n'échappa pas à ces mesures. Pour l'entretien de toutes ces oeuvres, la Mission doit engager un assez nombreux personnel: boys, cuisiniers, charretiers, meuniers, porteurs d'eau, etc. Ce personnel fut inscrit d'autorité dans le syndicat ouvrier. Celui-ci força tous les serviteurs de l'Église de venir faire leurs comptes et de réclamer les augmentations de salaires précipitées."

to send their children to Catholic schools.<sup>776</sup> Finally, the party issued movement restrictions confining the Québec missionaries to their *tangli* (mission).<sup>777</sup> Like Lionel Groulx, Donald MacInnis, Albert Galter,<sup>778</sup> Richard Bush,<sup>779</sup> and numerous Québec missionary periodicals, Bourassa believed that the communists were very meticulous and confident about their plans to nationalize religion and the clergy.<sup>780</sup>

The evacuation of Québec missionaries from communist China was a process that took six years from 1949 to 1955. Albert Galter outlined the steps which the CCP took to pressure foreign missionaries.<sup>781</sup> First, it announced religious tolerance;<sup>782</sup> second, it

---

<sup>776</sup> Rosario Renaud, *Süchow '48*, p. 9.

<sup>777</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa, *Tactiques communistes*, pp. 27-29

<sup>778</sup> Galter, p. 143. "Parmi toutes les persécutions auxquelles furent soumis les pays d'obédience marxiste, il faut citer en exemple la persécution chinoise pour sa mise au point, ses procédés méthodiques, sa technique raffinée et les résultats obtenus."

<sup>779</sup> Bush, p. 29. "The Chinese Communists learned that efforts to completely stamp out religious groups provoke only ill will abroad and undue resistance, even martyrs, at home."

<sup>780</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa. *Tactiques communistes*, pp. 10-11. Bourassa was Director of the Xuzhou College (1939-1943) and Director of the *Mission Bulletin* à Hong Kong until death in 1957.

<sup>781</sup> Galter, pp. 144-148. "La lutte contre la religion se déroula suivant des phases bien étudiées à l'avance et dans un ordre parfait. 1- Liberté et la tolérance religieuses (hsiao chiao tse-yu) mais qui suivent les Rouges. [...] 2- Lutte contre les superstitions (fang pei mi hsing [sic]) campagne publique. Trois fois par semaine de jeunes orateurs tenaient des réunions auxquelles tous étaient tenus d'assister; le dimanche pendant les offices. [...] 3- Campagne de rééducation de l'homme nouveau. [...] 4- Phase d'active opposition (ta tao tien chu chiao) création d'école, religion exclue, choix du personnel. [...] Confiscation de tous les biens fonciers. «Action populaire», autrement dit les Tribunaux Populaires, [...] les émissaires du Parti apportaient leurs propres accusations: collaboration avec les Japonais, espionnage au profit du Kuomintang et de l'Amérique impérialistes."

<sup>782</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa, "Rassurez-vous" in *Le Brigand*, no. 119, January-February 1949. "Tout marche comme auparavant dans la Mission, car, jusqu'ici, les Communistes se conduisent gentiment. Les pères travaillent librement et partout, des affiches proclament la liberté de religion." C. Couturier, *Chine, où vas-tu? Bilan de la révolution chinoise, 1900-1957*. Paris: Éditions Fleurus, 1958, p. 126. "Depuis 1948, les autorités communistes interdisent d'inquiéter les missionnaires, tant catholiques que protestants, et les invitent à poursuivre leur ministère en toute tranquillité."

initiated public campaigns against "old belief" to undermine religion;<sup>783</sup> third, re-education campaigns forced those who resisted into labour and work intensive political indoctrination. Fourth, the creation of lay compulsory schools and the standardization of education ended the missionary presence in Chinese education. Religious schools were seized, Chinese Marxist teachers were appointed, and mission properties were expropriated. Finally, missionaries who still resisted were then accused by popular tribunals of supporting the Japanese or the GMD. Galter does not mention some cases where missionaries were accused of espionage on behalf of the United States during the Korean War.<sup>784</sup>

The CCP infiltrated Québec missions, but it did so carefully because the Party understood that missionaries could be useful during the first days of the PRC.<sup>785</sup> Missionaries kept students in schools, provided social assistance (medicine and dentistry), and became an important source of information on the CCP's enemies. Keeping schools open was a priority for the CCP because it provided an urban youth ready for

---

<sup>783</sup> Mgr Pollio, *Le calvaire de l'Église dans la Chine nouvelle* (Paris: Librairie Téqui, 1962), p. 37. "Double tactique communiste. Partout dans la ville, on proclama la liberté de religion: *sin kiao tze you*." During the beginning of 1949, the CCP issued a campaign called (p. 39) *fang pei mi sin* (se méfier des superstitions). [...] Une forte propagande voulait convaincre le peuple que l'homme n'a pas une âme immortelle, que les religions sont des superstitions inutiles, que les prêtres catholiques sont des parasites." The notion that priests are social parasites is shared by the legalist and Confucian ideologies. For this matter, the CCP did not introduce this notion to China.

<sup>784</sup> Rosario Renaud, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine)*, p. 335. The imprisonment of Mgr Côté is an example.

<sup>785</sup> Dragon, *En mission parmi les Rouges*, p. 66. "Il y a de bons types de communistes, qui y vont en douceur; il y a, comme dit le P. Bérubé, des butors fanatiques qui imposent la doctrine brutalement. Ailleurs on tâche même de se concilier la bienveillance des Pères, en les traitant personnellement avec quelque égard." (p. 90) "À Peih sien. Les communistes nous ont donné un permis de circuler n'importe où pour propager la religion! Notre école reçoit actuellement plus de deux cent cinquante élèves qui nous viennent des meilleures familles. Les communistes fournissent même une subvention pour payer les professeurs. Nous sommes maîtres chez nous."

propaganda.<sup>786</sup> Therefore, in the spring of 1950, schools authorized to remain open could no longer give religion courses.<sup>787</sup> In addition, by keeping schools open, it was easier for the "rural CCP" to identify those who had links with the outside world, a source of suspicion.

Once in power, the CCP accused the Vatican and Québec missionaries of plotting against the new Chinese regime. The CCP had some reasons to believe so. The Vatican had issued warnings to Catholic missionaries not to cooperate with the Chinese Communists, even when they were the government in power in China. Yu Bin, the Bishop of Nanjing, declared that "the CCP was the main enemy of the Catholic Church."<sup>788</sup> Rome did not recognize his replacement by Beijing authorities. The attitude of the Vatican towards the PRC did not help Québec missionaries. After the revolution, the Vatican announced that it was opposed to the creation of an autonomous Chinese Catholic Church. In 1952 the Vatican issued an apostolic letter<sup>789</sup> stressing that the establishment of an independent Chinese Church was a heresy.<sup>790</sup> The resistance offered by Québec

---

<sup>786</sup> *Missions-Étrangères du Québec*, vol. 3, no. 1, January-February 1947, p. 18. "Mgr Tchao aurait voulu fermer son séminaire à Chihfeng, pour soustraire les séminaristes à l'influence néfaste de la propagande communiste. Plusieurs fois par jour, les chefs communistes se rendaient au séminaire y prêcher leurs doctrines. Ces mêmes chefs se sont opposés à la fermeture du séminaire."

<sup>787</sup> Mahomey, p. 262. "Dès le printemps 1950, l'enseignement de la religion fut interdit et celui de l'anglais découragé."

<sup>788</sup> Stockwell, p. 171. "Yu Bin, the bishop of Nanjing, declared that the first enemy of Catholicism is the CCP. He took a strong political position in support of the defeated Nationalist government and authored many anti-communist articles that were published in Catholic and other newspapers around the world."

<sup>789</sup> Pius XII, *Actes Pontificaux no. 48. Aux fidèles de Chine*, Montréal: Institut social populaire, 1952, p. 6. "L'Église catholique n'appelle pas à elle un seul peuple ou une seule nation, mais ce sont tous des hommes, à quelque race qu'ils appartiennent."

<sup>790</sup> Stockwell, p. 172. "[The Pope] also excommunicated the newly-appointed Nanjing vicar general, Li Weiguang, for having signed a declaration in support of a patriotic church."

missionaries to such a Church was remarkable considering the fate of those who opposed the government. Yet, Pope Pius XII issued the encyclical *Ad Sinarum Gentes* rejecting the establishment of the Chinese Patriotic Church.<sup>791</sup> A Chinese Church undermined the power of the Papacy and created a national Catholic Church which was not related to the Vatican. Perhaps the Vatican feared that other nations might follow the Chinese example.

Québec missionaries in China resisted communism with the help of the *Légion de Marie*. The Vatican created the *Légion de Marie* in 1949 to coordinate resistance against Marxism and its damaging effect on Christianity. In activating the *Légion de Marie*, Québec missionaries were committing a crime by organizing an association opposed to the Chinese government.<sup>792</sup> Researcher Frederic Stockwell argues that the *Légion de Marie* worked to assure the return of the GMD in mainland China.<sup>793</sup> Chinese communists accused the remaining Québec missionaries of being spies or enemies of the Chinese State.<sup>794</sup> The *Légion de Marie* was the suspected organization. Xinhua, the Chinese news agency claimed that:

---

<sup>791</sup> Bush, p. 121. "As 1954 came to an end Pope Pius XII issued his famous encyclical *Ad Sinarum Gentes* ("To the People of China"), to the bishops, priests, and laity of China. The Pope rejected autonomy."

<sup>792</sup> The arrest, accusation, and conviction of Armand Proulx stand out as an example. Proulx was arrested on August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1951, and accused of espionage under the coat of the *Légion de Marie*.

<sup>793</sup> Stockwell, p. 170. "But in China the Vatican took a position that amounted to open rebellion against the government and total support for the former Nationalist government. The Church even encouraged the formation of Chinese Catholic organizations [*Légion de Marie*] that might work underground for the restoration of the Nationalists in China." (p. 171) "Secret lay organizations were established by Catholic officials to oppose government policies. [...] The Catholic Church was regarded by most Chinese as one of the few organization in China that still supported the Nationalists, or Guomindang government in exile in Taiwan."

<sup>794</sup> Bush, p. 61. "Espionage and cultural aggression were the recurrent themes in trials of missionaries all over the country."

L'élimination des éléments contre-révolutionnaires nichés dans l'Église Catholique est une lutte difficile et compliquée. Ces contre-révolutionnaires ont acquis au cours de leur longue suite de combats une vaste expérience; stratégie et tactiques de tous genres leur sont familière. C'est pourquoi nous devons prendre nos ennemis au sérieux et les traiter en conséquence.<sup>795</sup>

One of the most effective efforts to nationalize religion and to encourage Québec's disengagement from China was the TAP. This policy consisted in bringing the Christian Church under the control of the Chinese government, more specifically the Religious Affairs Bureau. This bureau was established to control all types of religious activity. The TAP stressed that China had to become autonomous in three aspects of religion: self-governance, self-propagation, and self-support in finance. In the spring of 1950, the emergence of the Three-Self Movement in Chinese Protestant circles led to the idea of the TAP. Wu Yaozong, a Protestant priest from the YMCA,<sup>796</sup> wrote a manifesto outlining the desire of the Chinese clergy to become autonomous from the outside. Wu's Christian manifesto, *Direction of Endeavor for Chinese Christianity in the Construction of New China* declared: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own effort."<sup>797</sup> The manifesto was written under the supervision of Zhou Enlai, China's Premier.

---

<sup>795</sup> Galter, p. 154.

<sup>796</sup> *China Daily*, July 10, 1998. "The movement started in the early 1950's with the Three-Self Declaration initiated by Wu Yaozong with the China Young Men's Christian Association." Stockwell, p. 199. Wu Yaozong was supported by Zhao Zichen, a professor of theology at Yenching University and (p. 222) "the foremost proponent of Chinese theology is Ding Guangxun, who studied at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, was secretary of the Student Christian Movement in Canada."



Québec missionaries opposed the TAP and Zhou Enlai's desire to promote the creation of an autonomous Chinese Catholic Church. In July 1950 Zhou permitted the publication and distribution of the manifesto.<sup>798</sup> Campaigns to gather signatures in support of the principles of the TAP progressed in Protestant circles,<sup>799</sup> while Québec Catholic missionaries warned their subjects neither to sign the manifesto nor to participate in any conferences discussing the TAP. During the sixty-fifth Session of the State Administrative Council held in December 1950, Zhou Enlai, acting as Chairman, pushed for approval of the *Regulations Governing All Organizations Subsidised with Foreign Funds*. All missionary personnel and properties had to be registered and missions had to issue a monthly report about their finances and activities.<sup>800</sup> In January 1951 Zhou Enlai met the Catholics leaders of China to stress that relations with the Vatican could be maintained while pushing towards complete autonomy of the Chinese Catholic Church.<sup>801</sup> With the

---

<sup>797</sup> MacInnis p. 157.

<sup>798</sup> Couturier, p. 131.

<sup>799</sup> Bush, p. 182. "The adoption of the Manifesto by the National Christian Council of China, probably more than the signing of it by however many hundreds of thousands of Chinese Christians, marks the turning point of the Chinese church -a turning away from the old alignments with the churches of the West, a turning toward a new alignment with the Communist government of China." According to different sources, Protestant signatures of the Manifesto increased steadily during the 1950-1954 period. (Bush, p. 179) September 1950: 1 500 signatures, April 1951: 180 000, July 1952: 400 000. The *China Daily* (July 10, 1998) also argues for 400 000 signatures by 1952. MacInnis (p. 158) states that signatures reached 400,000 only in 1954.

<sup>800</sup> MacInnis, p. 24.

<sup>801</sup> Stockwell, p.170. "Premier Zhou Enlai met with the Chinese Catholic Bishops on January 17, 1951, and gave his approval to continued Church relations with Rome. [...] He urged Catholics to become self-supporting and to no longer rely on missionaries and foreign funds to administer their affairs." Jean de Leffe, *Chrétiens dans la Chine de Mao*, Paris: Éditions Desclée de Brouwer, 1955, p. 27. "L'arrestation la plus spectaculaire fut celle du Père Béda Tsang, Docteur ès lettres de la Sorbonne, prédicateur de grande envergure, recteur du Collège Saint-Ignace de Zi-Ka-Wei et dont l'influence sur les jeunes était considérable. Il fut saisi dans l'après-midi du 9 août 1951. Les communistes espéraient faire de lui le chef de la nouvelle église schismatique." After his refusal to participate in the TAP, the CCP turned to active repression against the Chinese Catholic clergy who opposed the policy.

Korean War as background, Zhou Enlai issued the regulations of *the Administrative Affairs Yuan on the Method of Controlling Christian Organizations That Have Received Financial Help From America* in April 1951.<sup>802</sup> 150 Chinese Protestant leaders agreed with the principles outlined in the regulations and declared that they would sever all relations with foreign missions. Furthermore, missions receiving money from the United States without any governmental awareness became illegal. The CCP used the fact that some Catholic missionaries working in Québec missions were "Franco-Americans," mainly from New England, to accuse them of supporting the United States during the Korean War. In late 1951 the CCP promoted Catholic Father Wang Liangzhu's "Declaration of Independence and Reform of the Catholic Church," hoping that Catholic missionaries would engage in the process. In addition, the CCP named Chinese Catholics to engage in the TAP.<sup>803</sup> Reform committees were established to promote the TAP and to destroy the *Légion de Marie*, which the CCP saw as anti-governmental association.<sup>804</sup> Québec Catholic missionaries resisted.

Québec missionaries and the Catholic clergy in China were the most vulnerable to the TAP because the hierarchical structure and authority of the Church emanated from the Vatican. In the eyes of many Chinese, the Pope remained a distant monarch who could

---

<sup>802</sup> MacInnis, p. 27.

<sup>803</sup> Stockwell, p. 170. "In 1952, Rome appointed Deng Yiming bishop of Guangdong province. He used this position to spearhead the Catholic opposition to Communism."

<sup>804</sup> Galter, p. 158. "Suppression de la Légion de Marie et dénonciation des tentatives d'inciter des compatriotes de l'église patriotique à s'opposer au mouvement des trois autonomies." Cushing, p. 101. "Après s'être débarrassés des missionnaires «étrangers», les Rouges se mirent en tête d'établir ce que l'on pourrait appeler «le contrôle communiste des Églises». Ainsi, parmi les Catholiques, ils fondèrent des «associations patriotiques», dans le but de provoquer un schisme avec le Vatican."

rule Chinese citizens through missions. Among the numerous clergies in China, the Catholic Church remained among the most foreign-controlled, another symbol of religious colonialism. Not surprisingly, Québec Catholic missionaries were regarded with suspicion. Once the umbilical cord with the Vatican had been cut off, Québec Catholic missionaries in China were confronted with a schismatic theological problem, having to disagree with the TAP and stay faithful to the Vatican, or accept the nationalization of religion even though it might be schismatic.

Québec missionary sources facilitate the examination of the implementation of the Chinese government's TAP because some Québec missionaries remained in China after the communist take-over in 1949. Four hundred Québec Catholic missionaries<sup>805</sup> left the PRC between 1949 and 1955. Their opposition to CCP religious policies provide us with interesting testimonies about the implementation of the TAP.<sup>806</sup> Aside from Léo-Paul Bourassa's most comprehensive study relating to Chinese nationalization of religion, Québec missionary sources indicate a great sense of despair when Chinese priests agreed to or were forced to agree to the principles of the TAP. Québec missionary attitude towards the TAP reveals more than just a reaction to "the diabolic actions" taken by the CCP, it shows how the Chinese state was able to close its doors and to sinicize all components of society.

---

<sup>805</sup> Austin, p. 152. "By 1950, there were some four hundred French-Canadian missionaries in China working under twelve different orders."

<sup>806</sup> See Jean Ho, *Malheureux sont les paysans*; Antonio Bonin, *Mon témoignage* (Montréal: Éditions Missions-Étrangères, 1955); Armand S. J. Proulx, *Mon T'ang-li* (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1958); Léo Paul Bourassa, *Tactiques communistes*, Ferdinand Coiteux, *Martyr à Chefoo. Père Didace Arcand, O.F.M., missionnaire en Chine*. (Montréal: Éditions Franciscaine, 1960); and most of the Québec missionary periodicals denounced Chinese intentions of nationalizing religion.

The Clerc St-Viateur periodical *Missions Saint-Viateur* published the main themes of the TAP in May 1951. This means that Quebec missionaries were well aware of the plans outlined in the TAP.<sup>807</sup> In fact, no more Québec missionaries were permitted to enter China, no more money from the Sainte-Enfance could reach Québec missions in China, and, worst of all from the perspective of Québec missionaries in China, appointments of Chinese Catholic clergy could be done without the approval of the Vatican. Naturally, Québec missionaries opposed the new policy.

The TAP broke the Chinese Catholic clergy into two groups, those who stayed loyal to Rome and those who helped to created the autonomous Chinese Patriotic Church. In this setting, Québec missionaries preferred Rome and became de facto "non-patriotic." Those who stayed loyal to the Pope became illegal in China, while the clergy that recognized this new policy agreed that Chinese Catholics, under the supervision of the Religious Affairs Bureau, would establish a Patriotic Catholic Church under the principles of the TAP. Québec missionaries who did not recognize the TAP were re-educated,

---

<sup>807</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 27, 15 May 1951. "D'autre part, la politique communiste à l'égard du christianisme se précise: elle vise à une «réforme» de la religion selon le principe de la «triple autonomie»: autonomie économique: rupture totale avec l'étranger dans le domaine économique et financier, donc suppression de toute aide matérielle venant des pays chrétiens; autonomie administrative: la direction de l'Eglise de Chine et de ses oeuvres doit rejeter la conception occidentale de l'autorité traditionnelle, et fonder une administration, se faire une législation et un culte en tous points conformes aux besoins chinois; autonomie missionnaire: il importe peu qui prêche la doctrine; le mandat n'a aucune importance; il s'agit surtout de laisser aux chrétiens le soin de fouiller les trésors de l'évangile pour en tirer une doctrine de leur goût."

exiled, accused of not cooperating with the new Chinese government; some even died during their confinement.<sup>808</sup>

Québec Catholic missionaries were the object of numerous political campaigns which were aimed at isolating foreign missionaries in China. These reforms were not only drafted to uncover “reactionaries,” but also to proceed with land reform, to intensify Chinese nationalism in response to Western intervention in Korea and to create the new revolutionary Chinese individual.<sup>809</sup> One of the most direct confrontations aimed at Catholic missionaries in China was land reform.<sup>810</sup> Catholic missions had estates which came under the new law, forcing them to relinquish rights that had existed since the Treaty of Tianjin (1858).<sup>811</sup> The “Resist America, Aid Korea” campaign accelerated the departure of Québec missionaries from China. Suspicion that some missionaries were working for the United States and for United Nations forces prompted the Chinese government to increase campaigns aimed at identifying scapegoats and those who were opposed to communism.<sup>812</sup> Compulsory participation in the “Resist America, Aid Korea”

---

<sup>808</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 82, April 1956. Mgr Lapierre would die on December 1, 1952.

<sup>809</sup> F. Legrand, p. 27. “«Réformer son cerveau» «Kai nao chin» c'est l'expression que vous entendez constamment employer pour indiquer la nécessité de renier toutes ses anciennes convictions et de se faire une mentalité nouvelle.”

<sup>810</sup> Jean Ho, *Malheureux sort des paysans en Chine communiste*, pp. 1-6.

<sup>811</sup> *Relations* vol. 10, no. 117 September 1950, p. 276. “Avec la réforme agraire de la République du Peuple de Chine, mise en vigueur le 30 juin dernier, les terres appartenant aux temples, monastères, églises, écoles et autres institutions religieuses serontquisitionnées.”

<sup>812</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 64, June 1954. Laurent Pilon wrote “on me demande la définition du patriotisme. De là, on glisse vers la participation des fidèles aux mouvements actuels à propos de la guerre de Corée. Je répète ce que j'ai dit à l'église: “Aucun chrétien n'a le droit d'adhérer aux associations politiques en tant que chrétien, c'est-à-dire s'arroger le droit de représenter l'Église dans le gouvernement. Un chrétien peut participer à la politique de son pays en tant que citoyen; jamais il ne peut s'autoriser de

campaign forced Québec missionaries to participate in Communists activities.<sup>813</sup> In Manchuria reforms were delayed because missionaries with medical skills were used to treat wounded Chinese volunteers from the war.<sup>814</sup> Initially adopted before the war, the Chinese government intensified its anti-reactionary campaign in February 1951.<sup>815</sup> Campaigns of the three-antis<sup>816</sup> and the five-antis also were directed against missionaries in China.<sup>817</sup> Québec missionaries were compelled to participate in demonstrations denouncing imperialism, the United States and the Vatican.<sup>818</sup> Refusal to participate in those demonstrations might lead to accusations of treason, such as those faced by some Québec missionaries during the early 1950s. If no accusations of spying, treason, or

---

représenter l'Église...On m'accuse enfin d'avoir parlé contre le gouvernement et contre la participation des Chinois à la guerre de Corée."

<sup>813</sup> Mahomey, p. 269. "Le 1er octobre 1950, un rallye géant fut organisé pour soulever les esprits contre le Japon et l'Amérique."

<sup>814</sup> Bush, p. 90. "Remaining Western doctors and nurses might still be utilized for much needed services. Government doctors and nurses were desperately needed on the Korean front, so Western medical personnel were allowed to continue working longer than their educational and evangelistic colleagues." Québec's missionary periodical *Missions Saint-Viateur* confirms the upholding of missionary persecutions in Manchuria for at least a year compared to the rest of China.

<sup>815</sup> Galter, p. 151. "Loi sur les activités contre-révolutionnaires, publiée le 23 juillet 1950 et renforcée en février 1951, le Gouvernement chercha à se donner les armes juridiques afin de mener une lutte plus intense contre l'Église et les catholiques."

<sup>816</sup> The Three Anti campaign focused on corruption, waste, and obstructionist bureaucracy. See also Stockwell, p. 20. "The Three evils campaign included the Suppression of Heterodox Sects." The Five Anti campaign focused on bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing state economic information.

<sup>817</sup> Bush, pp. 199-200. "Circulation of the Manifesto, the accusation movement, and the study or indoctrination groups within the church, plus a stream of public movements throughout the country, such as "Three Anti-" and "Five-Anti," Land Reform, and support for the war in Korea, left the church in a state of almost overpowering confusion." (p. 201) "The Catholic Church which owned a good deal of property, suffered more than did the Protestants during this program. All churches in rural districts were closed, since all public gathering other than those connected with Land Reform were forbidden."

<sup>818</sup> Léo-Paul Bourassa, *Tactiques communistes*, p. 30. "Contrôles des écoles. Prêtres et Soeurs doivent participer aux grandes démonstrations, aux défilés, crier des slogans en faveur de la paix, de la lutte contre l'impérialisme, contre les étrangers, les missionnaires, les évêques, le Vatican."

reactionary activities were justifiable, criminal accusations might always occur. The best example was the MIC of Canton which was accused of murdering 2,116 orphans.<sup>819</sup> When hearing the charges laid against the MIC, Two Gun Cohen cabled to Soong Qingling, Sun Yat-sen's wife who was acting as vice-president of the CCP at the time. Soong Qingling intervened to ask for clemency and the release of the nuns, but her influence failed to change the outcome of the popular trial.<sup>820</sup> The five Québec nuns were convicted and sentenced to five years in prison. Three of them were exiled in March 1952, while the remaining two stayed in detention for twenty three months, until their release and exile on Christmas day 1952.<sup>821</sup>

The pressure exerted by the CCP finally dislodged Québec missionary activities in China. The Protestants were the first Christian congregations to evacuate China. The withdrawal of all Protestant missionaries was achieved by late 1952. By September 1952 all of the Canadian Presbyterians had left China.<sup>822</sup> In contrast, the Catholic missionaries

---

<sup>819</sup> Spence, p. 534. "In a dramatic confrontation that recalls the anti-Christian agitations of the Confucian gentry or the Boxers in the later nineteenth century, five Canadian nuns who ran an orphanage in Canton were accused in early 1951 of having killed over 2,000 babies entrusted to their care."

<sup>820</sup> Levy, pp. 261-262. "MIC Soeur Marie de la Providence convent in Montreal wrote him [Cohen]: "We were agreeably surprised and deeply touched to notice that you have so kindly taken the defense of our five sisters arrested in Canton on a charge of manslaughter." The MIC received a show trial in front of 6 000 spectators. The court then sentenced Sisters Antoinette Couvrette and Germaine Gravel to five years imprisonment and ordered Sisters Germaine Tanguay, Imelda Lapierre, and Elisabeth Lemire expelled from China in March 1952.

<sup>821</sup> Groulx, p. 101. "La supérieure écope, pour leur part, de cinq ans d'emprisonnement. Emprisonnement doublé d'un nouvel essai de rééducation qui, par bonheur, prend fin le soir de Noël 1952 après toutefois 23 mois de détention."

<sup>822</sup> Bush, p. 46. "The exodus of Protestant missionaries which began in earnest in early 1951 was virtually complete by the end of that year. For example, in early 1952, 20 out of 637 China Inland missionaries, 7 out of 571 Lutheran missionaries including European as well as American, and 3 out of the 350 Methodist missionary contingent remained. Only one woman of the 60 Anglican missionaries, two couples of the London Missionary Society, and one Baptist left in China. The British Missionary Societies' East Asia

took much longer to evacuate China.<sup>823</sup> Some Québec missionaries were among the last foreigners to leave China. As indicated in Galter's five steps for nationalization of the clergy, Québec missionaries who did not leave China on a voluntary basis were accused of various crimes. This permitted Chinese authorities to detain, interrogate, accuse, and expel Québec missionaries. In 1953 Québec missionaries remaining in China felt the pressure<sup>824</sup> exerted by the CCP to leave China; most of those resisting were exiled in 1953.<sup>825</sup> Some diehard missionaries remained in custody longer, such as Gustave Prévost who left China in May 1954, being the last missionary of the Missions-Étrangères du Québec to remain in China.<sup>826</sup> The last five Québec Jesuit missionaries left China in mid-1955.<sup>827</sup>

---

Committee reported that by January 1, 1953, all of the 1 298 British missionaries who had been in China in 1949 had left the country."

<sup>823</sup> Ibid., p. 60. "In 1948 there were 5 496 Catholic foreign missionaries in China: 3,046 priests, 414 brothers, and 2,036 sisters. By January 1951, the total number had been reduced to 3,222; and by January 1952, the number had dropped further to 1,848. Fides, the Catholic news agency, reported that 1 240 Catholic missionaries left China in 1951. There were about 750 at the beginning of 1953, less than 250 by early 1954, and less than 90 at the beginning of 1955. A terse account in Mission Bulletin for January 1956, states that 16 priests and 11 sisters remained, that 13 of the priests, including one bishop, were in prison." (p. 61) "At the beginning of 1952, when practically all Protestant missionaries had left China, almost two fifths of the pre-Communist Catholic missionary force were still in that country."

<sup>824</sup> Leffe, p. 17. "Les tentatives pour noyauter l'Église et la faire sombrer dans le schisme ont dans cette ville [Shanghai] complètement échoué; les arrestations qui, depuis le 15 juin 1953, se multiplient à un rythme accéléré, les cours d'endoctrinement, les attaques quotidiennes de la presse, n'ont réussi qu'à augmenter la ferveur des fidèles."

<sup>825</sup> Groulx, p. 96. "Le 5 décembre 1951, Mgr Côté était mis en état d'arrestation. Pendant vingt mois il allait languir dans une prison communiste. Relâché en juillet 1953, il revint au Canada." (p. 110) "Refuge à Guiyang en 1953, les prisonnières [Soeurs Notre-Dame des Anges] sont libérées, puis charitablement expulsées." Langlais, pp. 317-318. Eight Québec missionaries would be expelled in 1953, two in 1954, and five in 1955. *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 64, June 1954. "Ordre du gouvernement dimanche 8 novembre 1953 [Father Pilon had to leave China with Gustave Pineault et Émile Bourgault of the Clercs Saint-Viateur]." They arrived in Montréal on December 29<sup>th</sup> 1953.

<sup>826</sup> Bizier, p. 273.

<sup>827</sup> Bush, p. 85. "When Father Fernand Faucher, the last Canadian priest in China, was expelled in April, 1955, he reported that there were about 180 students from 10 different dioceses studying in the Zikawei Seminary of Shanghai where he and 7 Chinese priests had been teaching. He stated that the rector, Father Aloysius Chin, had been successful up to that time in preventing Communist indoctrination at Zikawei, one of the most outstanding Catholic seminary in China." Bush's statement that Faucher was the last Canadian



The Chinese government officially nationalized religion in 1957. After the departure of all foreign missionaries from China, the CCP invited 241 Chinese delegates of the Catholic Church to a summer 1957 preparatory meeting aimed at establishing the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Church. The delegates prepared a declaration of independence that was adopted during the Congress held in July 1957. Thus, the Chinese Patriotic Church was founded despite the Vatican's refusal to recognize the new church.<sup>828</sup>

The departure of Québec missionaries from mainland China did not mean the end of Québec's involvement in Chinese society. Missionaries who left China could continue to live in a Chinese world in Taiwan, Hong Kong, or Macao. The intercultural contact could survive, although it was narrowed from hundreds of missionaries to a few dozen. Notwithstanding their relatively small number, these missionaries' involvement in the Chinese world permitted the famous Sainte-Enfance to continue to ask Québec students to adopt *un petit chinois* until the late fifties.<sup>829</sup> Numerous Québec congregations continued work in China, but most of them diversified their involvement worldwide. The

---

priest to leave China is correct even though Armand Proulx departed from China as late as the 31th October 1955. Proulx had an American passport. See *Le Brigand*, no. 181, June 1955. Armand Proulx's *Mon T'ang-li*, p. 119.

<sup>828</sup> Couturier, p. 247. "Dans une ultime Conférence préparatoire (17 juin-13 juillet 1957), les 241 "délégués" des diocèses rédigent les statuts de l'*Association Patriotiques des Catholiques de Chine*. Un congrès est tenu à la fin du mois." Stockwell, p. 20. "A similar group gathered members of the Chinese Orthodox Church, in 1956. The Buddhists (1953), Muslims (1953), and Taoists (1957) also established national organizations all under the watchful eye of the Communist Party."

<sup>829</sup> Austin, p. 164. "The last of these campaigns, supported by the Sainte-Enfance, was conducted in the late 1950s, almost a decade after Catholic orphanages were closed by the People's Republic of China." Campaigns that continued in the sixties were for Taiwan and Hong Kong missions.

campaigns for the *petit chinois* vanished as a "popular" example of Québec's involvement in China.

The exile of Québec missionaries from the PRC dramatically changed the religious demography of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao.<sup>830</sup> From an insignificant number of Québec missionaries in those regions, their number increased significantly.<sup>831</sup> The sudden arrival of Québec missionaries resulted in the creation of new missions that still exist today. Taiwan was a predictable destination for three reasons. First, a large number of Québec missionaries possessed a Chinese experience both in practice and language. Second, the existing organizations of missionaries were geared up for the Chinese; Québec's missionary apparatus gained some time for readjustment. Finally, the Taiwanese government issued laws that promoted the work of foreign missionaries in educational and medical services.<sup>832</sup> Many Québec missionary orders therefore left mainland China for Taiwan: MIC followed 15,000 Chinese Catholic refugees to

---

<sup>830</sup> The Portuguese term Formosa for the Island of Taiwan appears frequently in Québec Catholic sources. Although I haven't counted the number of times the word Formosa can be found in sources, it may be related to the fact that the Portuguese, notably Francis Xavier and Matteo Ricci left a deep impression in Catholic circles. See Joachim Primeau, *Neuvaine de la Grâce en l'honneur de Saint François Xavier*, Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1949, p. 31. "Depuis, saint François Xavier a été nommé Patron de la Propagation de la Foi, dont le but est le soutien et l'extension des missions dans le monde infidèle. [...] Ce sont les missionnaires surtout, qui ont les yeux fixés sur saint François Xavier, comme sur leur modèle et leur idéal, leur céleste protecteur; c'est son oeuvre qu'ils continuent, qu'ils élargissent et développent..." (p. 32) "Participons nous aussi, à ce beau mouvement apostolique." The *Neuvaine* was printed over 160 000 copies.

<sup>831</sup> Groulx, p. 136. "En 1945, à peine eût-on trouvé à Formose 12 prêtres et 6 religieuses. En 1950 les catholiques ne dépassent pas les 12,000. Cinq ans plus tard, 374 missionnaires ont afflué dans l'île et les catholiques atteignent le chiffre de 48,500."

<sup>832</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 52, 15 June 1953. "La législation du gouvernement nationaliste chinois ouvre la porte aux écoles privées tenues par des étrangers, surtout des missionnaires."

Taizhong.<sup>833</sup> Four MIC sisters arrived in 1954 to establish a medical clinic in the Taipei region.<sup>834</sup> The Clercs Saint-Viateur also took refuge in Taizhong. The Jesuits sent an important contingent to the island.<sup>835</sup> Hong Kong was also a refuge for Jesuits,<sup>836</sup> but received mainly Québec women missionaries with the exception of the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne.<sup>837</sup> The MIC was present in Hong Kong with its Holy Spirit center; the Soeurs Notre-Dame des Anges established a mission in the British colony. The Portuguese colony of Macao also served as a refuge for the Notre-Dame des Anges mission in 1953.<sup>838</sup> At the same time, some Québec missionaries from China joined neighboring missions in East Asia.<sup>839</sup> Because of the closure of China, Japan became the next East Asian destination for Québec missionaries. Jesuit missionary Marin left China for Tokyo, joining the Catholic Church in Japan where Québec missionaries were among the predominant groups.<sup>840</sup>

---

<sup>833</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 47, 15 January 1953.

<sup>834</sup> Groulx, p. 137.

<sup>835</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 66, August 1954. Groulx, p. 136. "En 1956 la mission formosane a vu venir à elle 26 jésuites."

<sup>836</sup> A. Simon, *Les caprices d'un géant ou les meilleurs récits de nos missionnaires canadiens*, Collection: Récits, aventures et missions, vol. 1 (Montréal: Ordinaire de Montréal, 1950), p. 190.

<sup>837</sup> *25 années de Missions des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes en Extrême-Orient* (Laval-des-Rapides: [s.n.], 1957), p. 34. "Parmi les missionnaires en fuite qui s'arrêtent à Hong-Kong, inscrivons les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes, échappés de Kirin, de Moudken. Quatre au moins d'entre eux rendent de grands services au Collège La-Salle ou au Collège Saint-Joseph."

<sup>838</sup> *En Missions avec Les Soeurs Missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges*, May-June 1955, pp. 68-73.

<sup>839</sup> Antoine Bernard, p. 496. "Au Siam, de 1950 à 1956, trois écoles se sont ouvertes, portant à dix le nombre des postes. Si, dans l'obédience du Tonkin, le noviciat de Hanoï a dû se replier à Tourane, les circonstances nouvelles ont chargé les Soeurs aux réfugiés."

<sup>840</sup> *Le Devoir*, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1949. "D'après une note parue dans la *Croix* du 11 mars dernier, les missionnaires (prêtres, frères, religieuses) se répartissent ainsi suivant leur nationalité: Canadiens, 113; Américains, 103; Espagnols, 41; français, 38; Irlandais, 25; Italiens, 20 Belges, 18."

Québec's disengagement from China's nationalization of religion had an impact on Québec schools. Québec's disengagement from China also meant that China, as an academic topic, disappeared from Québec schools and universities. When Québec disengaged from China, courses on Asian studies became very rare in French-speaking academic institutions. Missionaries acting as Sinologists disappeared from Québec universities, Québec was moving toward the secularization of the state and acted to eliminate religion from Québec universities. Sinology was a major casualty of the secularization in education. Québec's involvement in China became history.

In conclusion, nationalization of religion meant that China was returning to normal, which meant that the state reserved power to itself. The disengagement of Québec from China was therefore a natural outcome of China's revival. The CCP's policy to nationalize religion had the effect of sinicizing the Catholic Church in China. Not surprisingly, Québec missionaries were asked to leave the country. Québec missionaries and the Vatican challenged the CCP's religious policy as much as they could. Québec missionaries remained in China until the mid-1950s, being one of the most important missionary groups to stay despite communism. Québec sources clearly indicate that the CCP planned to take over the Catholic Church in China. The TAP figures among the numerous tools that the CCP took to move China towards religious autonomy. Québec missionaries' refusal to leave China demonstrated a strong attachment to that country. Notwithstanding the fact that Québec missionaries were fulfilling their duties, their reticence to leave China also meant that they were profoundly attached to

China. The end of Québec missionary involvement in China terminated the campaigns of the Sainte-Enfance in Québec schools; there were no more *les petits chinois* to adopt; no more Sinologists would emerge in Québec for many years.

## Chapter VIII

### Exile from the People's Republic of China; Québec's Cold War

The victory of communism in China initiated the Cold War in Québec. China became Québec's first experience of the Cold War. All of the authors who examine Canada-China relations indicate that Québec missionaries' domestic influence was a key factor in postponing recognition of the PRC by the Canadian government. The pressure exerted by Québec missionaries, combined with American influence, delayed Canadian recognition of Beijing until the start of the Korean War (1950-1953) when recognition became unthinkable. The Korean War, with China as the communist enemy, also became Québec's first military participation during the Cold War.

This chapter argues that China was Québec's Cold War first experience. The victory of communism in China affected Québec politically and militarily. This chapter begins by explaining how the possible recognition of the Beijing government posed international and domestic problems for Canada. The United States discouraged Canadian diplomatic recognition of the PRC. The fate of Québec missionaries and the immigration of Shanghai Jews to Canada also interfered with the Canadian government plans to recognize the PRC. Québec exerted sufficient pressure to delay the Canadian decision to recognize Beijing until the Korean War broke out. Québec missionary lobbies were the most organized group pressuring Ottawa not to recognize Beijing. Their literature and comments shed light on the "wait and see attitude" of the Canadian Liberal government

despite the general view in the Québec media that Ottawa should recognize the new government of China. The Korean War and the involvement of the Chinese once again prolonged Québec's involvement with China. Québec sent more than 7,000 combatants against North Korea and the Chinese. The international context that followed the Korean War, notably Canada's participation in the Commission of Indochina, further delayed the Canadian recognition of the PRC. The PRC became Québec's Cold War.

Canada's hesitation about recognizing China had two facets. Internationally, the American attitude toward communism had a strong influence on Canada's decision to withhold recognition.<sup>841</sup> Prime Minister Louis St-Laurent's (1948-1957) fear of offending American sensitivities appears to have been the major reason why Canada did not recognize China.<sup>842</sup> Canada's decision not to follow England's diplomatic recognition of China reflects the shift of power during the Cold War, as the United States replaced England as the main Western military power in the Pacific. Canada used its India office to keep contact with China.<sup>843</sup> Canadian government attitude followed American policy. Canadian diplomats in China awaited directives from Ottawa; immediately after the establishment of the PRC, Chester Ronning, serving as the Canadian representative in the Nanjing Embassy, was constantly being pressured by the Chinese government to cable

---

<sup>841</sup> Most of the authors examined identify American hesitation as the main reason why Canada did not recognize China.

<sup>842</sup> Stephen Beecroft, In Frolic and Evans, p. 53. "But given the limited nature of Canadian interests in China, cabinet preferred not to risk antagonizing the United States at that time, even if the risk was small."

<sup>843</sup> As it turned out, the Indian government played a useful role in negotiating with the Chinese about the Korean War and the Indochinese conflict. See Holmes & Laroche in Painchaud, pp. 285-286. "En effet, le gouvernement réalisa que l'unification forcée de la Corée était incompatible avec les vues de Pékin. C'est alors que le Canada utilisa le canal diplomatique que lui offrait l'Inde pour entrer en contact avec Pékin et chercher une base de négociation."

Ottawa and ask for recognition.<sup>844</sup> Canada's Commonwealth partners such as England,<sup>845</sup> India and Pakistan all chose to recognize the PRC in late 1949 and early 1950.<sup>846</sup> Their subsequent diplomatic difficulties with Beijing worried Canadian diplomats in their deliberations about whether to normalize relations with China.<sup>847</sup> Instead of following England's example of recognizing the PRC, Canada awaited American decision before recognizing the new Chinese government. The delay put Ronning in an awkward position, especially when Canada finally decided to normalize relations with Taiwan in 1951.<sup>848</sup>

The international situation fostered another disengagement from China by a group that settled in Canada and Québec, the "Shanghai Jews." Most of the Jewish communities in China centered in Harbin, Tianjin, Hong Kong, and Shanghai. Shanghai was an open city for Jews during the Second World War;<sup>849</sup> it received more than 20,000

---

<sup>844</sup> Painchaud, p. 287.

<sup>845</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 52, 15 June 1953. England's decision to recognize Beijing aroused some indignation with Québec's Clercs Saint-Viateurs. "On le sait, cela fait partie de la politique de l'Angleterre de proposer que Formose soit cédée aux Communistes chinois...Elle n'est plus la grande puissance qu'elle fut autrefois. Même pour sauvegarder ses intérêts, elle doit compter avec l'opinion américaine. Or, les États-Unis n'ont aucune intention, du moins à l'heure actuelle, de faire passer Formose aux mains des Communistes."

<sup>846</sup> Escott Reid, "Canadian Policy on China" in *Contemporary China*, Toronto: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1968, p. 133.

<sup>847</sup> Nossal, p. 348. "A related source of pressure on Cabinet to delay recognition was the difficulty being encountered by Britain and India in their relations with the new Chinese government [...] recognition [was] possible if the Communists would honor the Ming Sung loans (contracted in 1946)."

<sup>848</sup> Lalande, p. 364. "En 1951, à la suite de la signature du Traité de San Francisco, le Canada établissait des relations diplomatiques normales avec le gouvernement de Formose sans aller toutefois jusqu'à donner la réciprocité à l'envoi à Ottawa d'un ambassadeur de la Chine nationaliste." Canada also normalized its relations with Japan in 1952.

<sup>849</sup> *The Canadian Jewish News*, September 14, 2000, p. 24. Ho Fengshan was the Chinese consul general in Vienna (1938-1940). He issued thousands of visas to enable Jews for migration to Shanghai.



Jews from all over the world in the first year of conflict.<sup>850</sup> During the Chinese civil war, many Jews began seeking a third country to which they could emigrate. At first, the Tianjin Jewish community contacted Two-Gun Cohen to ask for his help. He explained that the Canadian Department of External Affairs was revising its immigration policy.<sup>851</sup> Immigration to Canada for the Chinese and Jews began to open after it had been closed for a generation. Jews of Russian and Iraqi origin from Shanghai and Tianjin immigrated to Canada in the late 1940s early 1950s; more than a dozen families of "Shanghai Jews" established themselves in Québec, mainly in Montréal.<sup>852</sup> Alain Grandbois was one of the few Québécois who became interested in the "Shanghai Jews." His private archives contain numerous statistics, reports, and texts composed by the poet about the "Shanghai Jews."<sup>853</sup> In his notes Grandbois recounts the tragedy of the Shanghai Jews during the Chinese Civil War, adding that their fate constitutes a thorny immigration question because Canadian authorities had to negotiate with the PRC which was still not recognized by Canada.

Domestically, divisions in the Canadian House of Commons delayed recognition of the PRC. In parliament only the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation favored immediate recognition of the PRC, while the Progressive Conservatives and the Crédit

---

<sup>850</sup> Wasserstein, p. 273.

<sup>851</sup> Levy, p. 249. The Tianjin Jewish community asked Cohen about the possibility of settling in Canada.

<sup>852</sup> Some Chinese immigrated to Québec as well. *The Canadian Jewish News*, September 14, 2000, p. 24. "Richard Tchong, who was living in Shanghai during the war and worked at the Jewish Club. [...] Today, Tchong is founder of the Chinatown Caisse populaire Desjardins and president of the Montréal-Shanghai Association."

<sup>853</sup> Personal archives of Alain Grandbois. Folder MSS-204/4/12.

Social were against the normalization of diplomatic relations. The Liberals, the governing Party, were also divided on the idea of recognizing the PRC. In addition, Québec's government, the Catholic clergy, and its militants opposed the recognition of China.<sup>854</sup>

The government of Québec, headed by Maurice Duplessis' (1890-1959) undermined support for Canadian recognition of the PRC.<sup>855</sup> Duplessis' opposition to Canadian recognition of the new PRC was the result of work of a strong missionary lobby, which presented petitions against recognition of the communist regime. For Duplessis, not only was the PRC an enemy of the Western block, but its religious policy, linked with the atheist beliefs of communism, was pernicious and dangerous. Duplessis' intimate relation with the Catholic Church gave missionaries additional influence on the matter of the recognition of the PRC. Historian John Holmes argues that Québec's government, and Duplessis, lobbied Ottawa against recognition.<sup>856</sup> Stephen Beecroft adds that when the Canadian government flirted with the idea of recognizing the PRC, Canadian government

---

<sup>854</sup> Holmes & Laroche, p. 287. "En effet, le gouvernement Saint-Laurent avait été élu en 1949 sur un programme d'unité nationale, et il désirait connaître les réactions de la population à l'égard de la Chine populaire. De plus, les membres de l'opposition parlementaire souhaitaient se faire entendre sur la question chinoise. MM. Saint-Laurent et Pearson avaient d'autant plus de raisons de consulter la population que plusieurs groupes, dont le gouvernement du Québec, étaient opposés à la reconnaissance de la Chine populaire."

<sup>855</sup> See H.F. Quinn, *The Union Nationale: A Study in Quebec Nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

<sup>856</sup> John Holmes & Jean-René Laroche, "Le Canada et la guerre froide" in Painchaud. p. 287. "St-Laurent et Pearson avaient d'autant plus de raisons de consulter la population que plusieurs groupes, dont le gouvernement du Québec, étaient opposés à la reconnaissance de la Chine populaire. L'opinion publique était divisée sur la question." Holmes also wrote in his book *The Better Part of Valour: Essays on Canadian Diplomacy*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1970), p. 212. "Not even from Roman Catholics has there been a solid and active force against dealings with communist China -although the intense abhorrence of Communists countries characteristic of majority Catholic opinion across the border is often reflected among French and English-speaking Catholics." Being an earlier publication, Holmes' statement with Laroche is more conclusive about Québec interference about China's recognition by Canada.

offices were flooded with petitions from Québec.<sup>857</sup> China represented the communist country with which the people of Québec were most familiar. Quebecers and the Québec government were interested in the fate of the 400 Québec missionaries in China, a substantial group having numerous means to express their views.

Québec public opinion was divided about diplomatic recognition of PRC. Québec newspapers were divided on normalization of relations with the new Chinese regime, but most supported recognition. *L'Action Catholique*<sup>858</sup> and *Le Devoir*<sup>859</sup> urged recognition, while *The Montréal Star* and *La Presse* supported Lester B. Pearson's "wait and see" attitude. Radio-Canada played informative shows with host Alain Grandbois explaining the situation in China. Shows were aired from April to August 1950. Grandbois refrained from proposing recognition for or condemning the new regime, preferring to stick to events and taking great caution to explain the multiple facets of the political situation in China.<sup>860</sup> Grandbois' hesitation reflected the attitude of the Canadian government.

---

<sup>857</sup> Beecroft in Evans and Frolic, p. 56. During a tour in Asia, St-Laurent made a *faux pas* by declaring Canada would ultimately recognize Beijing. "The Prime Minister's office was flooded with letters and petitions, many of them orchestrated by the Roman Catholic Church in Québec, expressing abhorrence at the prospects of any rapprochement with the Communists in Peking." Public Archives Canada. St Laurent papers, MG2GL, vol. 220, file U-25-8

<sup>858</sup> *Action Catholique*, December 11, 1950. Editoralist Louis-Philippe Roy wrote "Nous avouons ne pas comprendre l'obstination de Washington à ne pas vouloir admettre la Chine communiste à l'ONU. Puisque de fait le régime communiste conduit actuellement les destinées de 400 millions d'hommes. Sur ce point, nous trouvons plus logique la position de la Grande-Bretagne qui suggère que, dans l'intérêt de la paix, l'O.N.U. doit rester en contact normal avec cette partie du globe, une des plus peuplées."

<sup>859</sup> Holmes, *The Better Part*, p. 214. "Even during the Korean War, *L'Action Catholique* of Québec criticized American obstinacy in refusing to admit the fact of the Chinese regime and expressed a preference for the wisdom of British policy. *Le Devoir* has consistently criticized the government for following the policy in which *Le Devoir* believes the United States has trapped itself."

<sup>860</sup> Personal archives Alain Grandbois, MSS-204/4/9-13. See more specifically *La guerre-sino-japonaise 40e papier historique Mandchourie pour Radio-Canada*, Visages du monde CBF Shanghai (18/04/1950); Peking (20/06/1950); and Mandchourie (01/08/1950).

Québec Catholic missionaries were the only organized group capable of effectively pressuring Ottawa not to recognize "Red" China.<sup>861</sup> Maureen Appel argues that most of the religious groups accepted the idea of recognizing China with the exception of Québec Roman Catholics and their supporters.<sup>862</sup> Radio station CKAC hosted many *Chevaliers de Colomb* for radio discussions denouncing any move toward recognition of the PRC.<sup>863</sup> The *Chevaliers de Colomb* supported the missionaries in Québec's Cold War and lobbied against any recognition of Beijing by the Canadian government.<sup>864</sup> When the Korean War began, Canadian recognition of China became totally out of the question.

After the establishment of the PRC, an array of anti-Communist literature appeared in Québec bookstores. Missionaries, a very organized group, published a large number of periodicals that were intended to influence the Québec population.<sup>865</sup> This is why

---

<sup>861</sup> See Austin and Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*.

<sup>862</sup> Maureen Appel, "Canadian Attitudes to Communist China," Ph. D. Thesis, Montréal: McGill University, 1964, p. 173. "On balance, it appears that Canadian religious groups favour Canadian recognition of, and trade with, Communist China on the basis that this is the best way to aid the Chinese people themselves. Only Roman Catholic organizations, possibly because of their strong aversion to communism in general, oppose such action."

<sup>863</sup> Antonio Milot, "Le communisme reste toujours d'actualité " in *Les Chevaliers de Colomb de la Province du Québec et le Communisme. Textes des conférences diffusées par le poste CKAC au cours de l'Exercice 1950-1951*, Montréal: [s.n.], 1951, p. 34. "N'est-ce pas tout récemment que nous avons vu s'installer un nouveau régime en Chine, pendant que les démocraties se demandaient anxieusement si les Russes possédaient ou non le secret de la bombe atomique? Pendant qu'en Amérique on fabrique quelques bombes à l'hydrogène, là-bas, c'est tout un peuple de 500 millions d'habitants que l'on s'apprête à écraser et asservir."

<sup>864</sup> Ibid.

<sup>865</sup> Mitchell, *The Missionary Connection*, p. 20. "Canada's low level of political and economic involvement in the Pacific magnified the missionaries' influence on official and public images of China. Catholics were equally anxious to recruit their parishioners' support for mission societies, though there is less documentary

Québec's Cold War had a religious tone, comparing communism to atheism.<sup>866</sup> It is not surprising to find Québec literature against Red China considering the fact that Quebecers in China at the time were mainly Catholic missionaries. Protestants who had left China were more divided and most Protestant literature favored the recognition of China.<sup>867</sup> Catholic literature in Québec reflected the witchhunt taking place in the United States. McCarthyism was reported in Québec journals and books to demonstrate that communists could infiltrate sectors of the public administration, perhaps including education.<sup>868</sup> Many books about the Soviet Union, communism and China appeared in Québec in the 1950s. In his *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste*, Jean Ho warns about the danger of Chinese communism and that it must be resisted.<sup>869</sup>

---

evidence of direct efforts to influence Ottawa's policies on China prior to the late 1940's." However, after the proclamation of the PRC, literature against China's recognition becomes more apparent in Québec.

<sup>866</sup> Jean Ho *Malheureux sort des paysans en Chine communiste*, p. 24. "Avec toute l'expérience que j'ai prise en mon pays et en Europe, je puis vous dire que la marée communiste, caractérisée par une vague grandissante d'amour des plaisirs et du luxe, s'avance rapidement sur notre cher Canada, en passant par les États-Unis. [...] Le plus grand service que l'on rend aux communistes qui agissent partout dans le monde, c'est de les ignorer. [...] Doux Cœur de Jésus, prenez en pitié mon cher pays, la Chine, et préservez mon cher pays d'adoption, le Canada, des ravages de l'athéisme abrutissant."

<sup>867</sup> John W. Holmes, *The Better Part*, p. 212. "There are in Canada, however, few "Old China Hands" except missionaries. Canada did have many missionary ties with China, both Catholic and Protestant, but the views of the ex-missionaries and their churches tend to be divided. For the most part they regard what is happening in sorrow rather than in anger. The United Church of Canada, largest of the Protestant bodies, has consistently urged the need for understanding and tolerance." At each General Councils since 1952, the United Church has urged recognition of Peking.

<sup>868</sup> Jean Ho, *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste*, p. 4. "Vous-mêmes, Canadiens, vous vous inquiétez en apprenant que des espions communistes infectent votre pays. S'efforcent de fomenter la haine des classes, de créer du mécontentement et de préparer ainsi une cinquième colonne, prête à livrer le Canada tout entier à la domination de la Russie soviétique." Cushing, pp. 96-97. "Les militaristes de la trempe de Patrick Hurley s'irritent de ce que les intellectuels américains soient unanimes, à toutes fins pratiques, sur la grande question de l'avenir de l'Asie. Presque tous les écrivains, les experts, les journalistes - et même les diplomates de carrière attachés au Département d'État- considèrent que les dirigeants du Kuomintang sont des réactionnaires. Presque tous approuvent le programme des communistes chinois."

<sup>869</sup> Jean Ho, *Que faire*, p. 18. "Il faut que les Chinois qui sont au front, et qui doivent livrer un combat tout spirituel, puissent compter sur leurs frères du Canada, et du monde entier pour les soutenir positivement, par

Québec missionary periodicals, particularly the Jesuit magazine *Relations* actively fought against the idea of Canadian recognition of China.<sup>870</sup> The magazine *Relations* wrote that communism in China strengthened Soviet ideology which was aimed at destroying Christianity.<sup>871</sup> Missionary periodicals warned of the emergence of world communism and its subsequent impact on Québec. The magazine *Relations* was among the first to denounce Canadian plans to recognize Beijing. The magazine and some Jesuits fought the recognition of the PRC for more than a decade.<sup>872</sup> Even before the establishment of the PRC, *Relations* warned Lester B. Pearson against normalizing relations with Beijing.

Dès le 8 juin [1949], l'hon. Lester B. Pearson, ministre des Affaires étrangères du Canada, s'était empressé, au cours d'une réunion électorale à Saskatoon, de se déclarer prêt à accorder la reconnaissance diplomatique à la Chine rouge. On connaît l'obstination d'Ottawa à refuser tout rapport avec le Saint-Siège. Un peu moins de deux semaines après ce malheureux discours vint la réplique de Mao Tse-tung. Un coup de cravache en pleine face fut rarement aussi mérité. Les gens

---

leur sympathie, leur admiration, leur appui, leurs prières et leurs sacrifices. En face du communisme, aucune attitude négative, aucun abandon, mais la volonté collective de résister."

<sup>870</sup> Appel, pp. 171-172. "In lieu of any comment whatsoever from the Roman Catholic Church, the only indication of Canadian Catholic opinion on China is to be found in such Church connected but not primarily religious organizations as the Knights of Columbus, and the Jesuit publication, *Relations*. Constantly these have spoken of the subversive nature of Communism, the military threat posed by China, and Communist Chinese persecution of religious orders."

<sup>871</sup> *Relations* vol. 10, no. 117 September 1950, p. 274. "Les événements des dernières semaines et le courant continu de conseillers russes prenant le contrôle des organismes administratifs de la Chine laissent peu de doute que le communisme est en train de se faire de la Chine une immense colonie russe. Et, comme telle, soumise non seulement en matières économiques, mais aussi culturelles et spirituelles... Pour réussir, ils doivent d'abord anéantir cette civilisation chinoise de quatre mille ans, anéantir aussi l'influence, dans le pays, de la culture et des traditions chrétiennes."

<sup>872</sup> The radio station CKAC published series of conferences in 1949-1950, 1950-1951, 1954-1955, and 1961-1962. *Les Chevaliers de Colomb de la Province du Québec et le Communisme. Textes des conférences diffusées par le poste CKAC au cours de l'Exercice 1950-1951*, Montréal: [s.n.], 1951.

d'affaires, sans doute, ont la sensibilité bien contrôlée, la peau dure et la honte difficile; notre service diplomatique, malheureusement, semble trop ressembler à une agence d'importations et d'exportations à la disposition de quelques magnats.<sup>873</sup>

The magazine featured numerous articles warning Ottawa that recognition of the PRC would demonstrate that the Canadian government was the hostage of big business and showed no respect for human rights and religious freedom. *Relations* linked human rights and religious freedom to the survival of Western democracy. Trade itself did not guarantee democracy. *Relations* stated that:

Va-t-on laisser nos gens d'affaires subordonner la politique de nos pays à leurs profits, à leurs desseins myopes, au risque de devoir affronter, demain, une Chine devenue l'incomparable arsenal des pays antidémocratiques?<sup>874</sup>

A few days before the Korean War, *Relations* predicted that unless an international adventure weakened China, nothing much could be done to hurt the PRC.<sup>875</sup> In effect, when the Korean War began in June 1950, it made China stronger and more unified against America.

---

<sup>873</sup> *Relations*, vol. 9, no. 10, 5 September 1949, p. 250.

<sup>874</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 109, January 1950, p. 26.

<sup>875</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 119, November 1950, pp. 332-333. "Pour le moment (nous soulignons), à moins d'une aventure internationale dans laquelle se lancerait, ou serait entraîné le Gouvernement du Peuple, l'on ne saurait trouver la force armée ou les forces idéologiques capables de le renverser. [...] "À cela s'ajoute que les communistes ont fait l'unité de la Chine, et mêmes les anticommunistes ne peuvent que l'admirer. Quelques groupes sociaux, surtout les intellectuels moyens (écrivains, hommes de profession libérale), les étudiants entraînés par eux, désiraient réellement le communisme."

Chinese participation in the Korean War prolonged Québec's involvement in China and delayed Canadian diplomatic recognition of Beijing. News that North Korea had invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950 reached Québec instantly. However, the Canadian and Québec governments acknowledged the news with a certain lack of concern.<sup>876</sup> On June 27 the United Nations Security Council approved a resolution which recommended that United Nations member nations provide assistance to the Republic of Korea. On June 30, Canadian Prime Minister Louis St-Laurent announced that the Canadian government had sent ships en route to Asia.<sup>877</sup> This decision to send soldiers directly affected Québec, more than 7,000 Québec soldiers left for Korea to fight the Chinese and North Koreans.

Québec Members of Parliament voiced their concern over the fact that without debate Canada had agreed to participate in the Korean War. Some feared that conscription was around the corner. The opposition to the war among members of Parliament was minor, but was present in all parties in the House of Commons. Among those opposing Canadian participation in the Korean War were Jean-François Pouliot (Libéral Témiscouata), Raoul Poulin (independent Beauce), Paul Gagnon (independent Chicoutimi) and Henri Courtmenache (Progressive Conservative Labelle).<sup>878</sup> Among Québec MPs

---

<sup>876</sup> Thor Thorgrimsson & E.C. Russell, *Canadian Naval Operations in Korean Waters, 1950-1955* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965), p. 2. "The House does not appear to have been very alarmed by the Korean crisis...The matter was dealt with quickly, and the House went on to discuss the decline in production and increase in price of cheese."

<sup>877</sup> Stairs, p. 85. "Anxious in particular to secure guarantees that Canadian troops would not be used in combat before they were adequately trained -there was to be no repetition of Hong Kong - and that under no circumstances would they be involved in any way in the defense of Formosa [Taiwan]. See also Holmes & Laroche, p. 285.

<sup>878</sup> Stairs, p. 111. "[Poulin] told the house that he was " all for helping our allies, or avoiding isolationism," but he thought that from "the humane point of view the invasion of South Korea by the people of North Korea might be regarded simply as a sort of brutal reuniting of two members of the same family whose



who supported Lester B. Pearson's policy to join the United Nations forces were Maurice Boisvert (Liberal Nicolet-Yamaska), J.G.L. Langlois (Liberal Gaspé), Pierre Gauthier (Lib: Portneuf), Philippe Picard (Liberal Bellechasse) and Leon Balcer (Progressive Conservative: Trois-Rivières).<sup>879</sup> The vast majority of the remaining Canadian MPs agreed with the Canadian Prime Minister.

Most Québec newspapers were opposed to Canadian intervention in the Korean War.<sup>880</sup> One of the most outspoken was *Le Devoir*.<sup>881</sup> André Patry of the *Action Catholique* stressed that the West should cultivate friendship with Asia rather than confrontation.<sup>882</sup> *Le Canada*<sup>883</sup> saw no reasons to fight in Korea, a view shared by Sherbrooke's *La Tribune*<sup>884</sup> and Québec City's *Le Soleil*.<sup>885</sup> On the other hand, *The*

---

guardians had left able to keep asunder in order to exploit them more thoroughly. This would then be a civil war. He argued that clever and well managed propaganda" had done much to show that communist Russia was lurking behind the North Korean aggression, making the war one of communist ideology against democracy and freedom."

<sup>879</sup> Ibid., pp. 55-56, for the detailed breakdown of MPs opposed and those in favor of Canadian involvement in the Korean War.

<sup>880</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>881</sup> *Le Devoir*, 28 June 1950. *La Guerre, c'est la catastrophe*. "Personne en Occident ne paraît disposé à risquer une guerre universelle pour sauver la Corée du sud." 30 June 1950. Gérard Filion made a stunning editorial *Les horreurs de l'an deux mille* against American intervention in Korea. Omer Héroux also wrote that "L'intervention de Washington à Formose n'a même pas les apparences de la légalité. Les États-Unis s'interposent sans mandat d'aucune sorte; leur argument, c'est la force."

<sup>882</sup> *Action Catholique*, 27 June 1950. "Il importe donc plus que jamais que nous cherchions à gagner l'amitié et la confiance des Asiatiques, et que nous leur prouvions notre respect de la justice et de la paix."

<sup>883</sup> *Le Canada*, 27 June 1950. "Demeurer calme devant les événements en Corée. Cela signifie que nous n'entendons pas, présentement, assumer en Asie des obligations qui pourraient entraîner notre intervention dans un conflit comme celui qui vient d'éclater en Corée."

<sup>884</sup> *La Tribune*, 28 June 1950. "Ne perdons pas la tête. Au Canada, plus particulièrement, on ne voit pas comment et pourquoi notre pays pourrait se laisser entraîner aveuglément dans le conflit asiatique et épouser cette querelle pour le simple motif que ses sympathies naturelles sont acquises aux victimes des agresseurs."

*Montreal Star*<sup>886</sup> and *The Gazette*<sup>887</sup> supported Canada's intervention in Korea. Finally, according to Denis Stairs, the French press had little impact on the government, as its warnings did not gain support in the House of Commons.<sup>888</sup> Only one book questioned the need for Canadian participation in the Korean War. Sam Gobeil wrote in his study on communism that:

Devant la menace effarante des disciples de Staline, les libéraux d'Ottawa envoient notre jeunesse affronter sur le champs de bataille ceux de ces disciples qui se trouvent en Chine, et, sans même rougir de leur cynisme.<sup>889</sup>

Canada's participation in the Korean War was in fulfillment of its United Nations responsibilities. The Canadian contingent came third in terms of numbers after those of the United States and England. Perhaps Canada's participation, as least in part, could discourage American involvement from turning into an anti-Communist crusade that could degenerate into another World War. It is therefore not surprising to see the recall of General MacArthur (1880-1964) after he threatened to use the atomic bomb against China. It is clear that Canada wanted nothing to do with aggravating the Chinese. The United

---

<sup>885</sup> *Le Soleil*, 28 June 1950, Henri Gagnon asked why the government "se soit laissé prendre encore une fois au piège des alliances qui engagent le pays à plus que la défense de son territoire! Pour avoir voulu tenir le rôle qui dépasse ses moyens, il est exposé aujourd'hui aux sollicitations d'un organisme international qui sert de paravent aux puissances qui convoitent l'hégémonie du monde."

<sup>886</sup> *The Montreal Star*, 26 June 1950. "Firmness Called For In Korean Conflict. The stakes, of course, are greater than Korea itself. This could be the spark that would change the cold war to a hot war. It must be approached by the west with the utmost firmness."

<sup>887</sup> *The Gazette*, June 26 1950. Editorial entitled "Reds invade South Korea."

<sup>888</sup> Stairs, p. 58. "The editors of the isolationist press in French Canada had no more than a handful of allies in the House of Commons."

<sup>889</sup> Sam Gobeil, *Le péril communiste*, Québec: [s.n.], 1953, p. 15.

Nations provided a medium by which Canada was able to act as a peace broker even though it was fighting the Chinese.

Military recruitment efforts for the Korean War went smoothly in Québec. In the first two months of recruitment for Korea, Québec enlisted 3,653 volunteers.<sup>890</sup> Out of 26,791 Canadian soldiers who served in Korea,<sup>891</sup> nearly 30% were French-speaking<sup>892</sup> and about 7,000 came were from Québec.<sup>893</sup> Denis Stairs explains the successful recruitment effort in Québec by suggesting that most of the soldiers sent to Korea were volunteers searching for adventure, not individuals who were interested in preventing the spread of communism or in increasing Canada's role in international affairs.<sup>894</sup> For Stairs, the great numbers of Québec volunteers reflected the demographic reality of Canada's population, rather than a sudden interest by Quebecers in world affairs.

It has sometimes been argued that the success of the recruiting drive in French Canada was a reflection of a revolution in French-Canadian views on defense and foreign policy, and that the identification of communism as the principal threat to

---

<sup>890</sup> Stairs, p. 186. Only a small numbers of Quebecers were drafted to Korea. Franco-Americans living on both sides of the Québec/USA border, possessing double citizenship, were drafted to Korea if residing in the USA. Interview (11<sup>th</sup> October 1997) with Claude Granger, American Korean War veteran.

<sup>891</sup> *Souvenir de vaillance*, p. 27.

<sup>892</sup> One of those volunteers was pilot Omer Lévesque. Lévesque became the first Canadian to fly operations in Korea. On March 31, 1951 he was the first Commonwealth pilot to shoot down an enemy MiG 15 jet in Korea. Omer Lévesque met Ho Chi Minh and General Vo Nguyen Giap on a tour with the International Control Commission in Vietnam.

<sup>893</sup> Pierre Vennat, *Baptiste au pays du matin calme: les militaires canadiens-français en guerre de Corée 1950-1953* (Montréal: Éditions Méridien, 2000), p. 152.

<sup>894</sup> Stairs, p. 188. "The impression that the recruits were motivated by adventurism than by economic hardship is reinforced by the fact that as many as 45 per cent of those volunteering were WWII veterans." (p. 189) "Reasons to enlist appear on the basis of the available evidence to have been due to personal rather than to political factor."

western security had eroded the traditional isolationism of the Province of Québec. If there is truth in this claim, it cannot be established by reference to enlistment figures if individual decisions to enlist were based on non-political considerations.<sup>895</sup>

The military experience of thousands of recruits from Québec in Korea did have an impact on Québec families and friends. The great number of households listening to René Lévesque (1919-1987) on Radio-Canada from Korea once again informed Québec about China and in this case about its involvement in the Korean conflict.<sup>896</sup> Lévesque recalls meeting the Chinese:

We would fly over the Chinese lines by helicopter, landing in a fortified area surrounded by barbed wire. In the middle was a small building with a pagoda roof. The press was parked near the door reserved for the UN negotiators. On the other side a bunch of Oriental soldiers with red stars on their caps kept close watch on their own territory. They spoke among themselves in low voices, but if one of us made so bold as to approach, he would be greeted by a deathly silence. Even the most pleasantly put question would be met with an enigmatic stare.<sup>897</sup>

United Nations presence in the Korean peninsula, including Canadian and Québec participants, did little to ease tensions in the region. The Korean War dragged on for three

---

<sup>895</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>896</sup> Radio-Canada was not the only medium reporting on the war in Korea. Some Clercs Saint-Viateur, still in China, reported that Chinese volunteers used their mission. *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 62, April 1954. "Nous ne sommes pas les seuls dans l'enceinte de la Mission. Nos amis les «Rouges», sans cohabiter avec nous, prétendent bien utiliser notre «propriété» pour former, entraîner leurs «volontaires».

<sup>897</sup> René Lévesque, *Mémoires* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986), p. 113. René Lévesque met author Wilfred Burchett in Korea. "We had several discussions and I remember particularly the one about the recent expulsion of our missionaries. [...] Remembering all the pennies collected in bygone days to be sent to the *Brigand*, a mimeographed bulletin that used to come to the college urging us to "buy" one of the poor starving little Chinese, I wagered that despite all their faults the Jesuits would never stoop so low." Lévesque revisited China in 1984 as Prime Minister of Québec.

long years without a victory for either side. Negotiations went nowhere; furthermore, they delayed Canadian recognition of China. Nor did the end of the Korean War (in July 1953) translate into Canadian recognition of the Beijing government. A total of 516 Canadians soldiers died<sup>898</sup> in a war that led to a stalemate. Korea remained divided at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, the North being supported by the Chinese and its Communist allies; the South was protected by Americans and United Nations forces.<sup>899</sup> According to John Holmes, the Americans were too committed in the war against communism to tolerate any recognition of China by Canada. Canadian civil servants tried to pursue a more independent Korean policy while Ottawa would not recognize Beijing.<sup>900</sup> Canada could not ignore the American stand on Chinese recognition and the subsequent retaliation it might provoke from the United States. In addition, the Catholic Church was still mobilizing against the recognition of the PRC, especially after Lester B. Pearson indicated a desire to explore contacts with China at the end of the Korean War.<sup>901</sup> The Mission Saint-Viateur warned:

L'on a remarqué, récemment, que M. Pearson, le ministre des Affaires Extérieures du Canada, a déclaré que, advenant la signature d'un traité de paix honorable avec la Corée, il faudra vraisemblablement reconnaître le gouvernement communiste comme gouvernement légitime en Chine et admettre la Chine Rouge aux Nations Unies. M. Pearson n'est pas un oracle. L'expression de son opinion ne constitue

---

<sup>898</sup> *Souvenir de vaillance*, p. 27.

<sup>899</sup> A small Canadian contingent remains posted in South Korea until today.

<sup>900</sup> Holmes, *The Better Part*, p. 202. "Once the Korean War was over, the situation was never the same again. The United States became so deeply committed against Peking that recognition by any of its allies was bound to appear more unfriendly than such a move would have been when the British, Dutch, and others acted before June, 1950." (p. 203) "McCarthyism did not intimidate Canadians; rather it stimulated those who wanted an independent China policy."

<sup>901</sup> Holmes & Laroche, p. 290. "D'ailleurs, les efforts de conciliation de L. B. Pearson dans les années 1953-1955 à l'égard de la Chine provoquèrent plusieurs critiques dans la presse américaine. Certains allèrent même jusqu'à l'accuser d'être lui-même communiste."

pas la politique canadienne vis-à-vis de la Chine communiste...Il [Pearson] aura, sans aucun doute, eu amplement le temps de terminer sa carrière politique, de se retirer de la vie publique et de percevoir sa pension de vieillesse pendant plusieurs années avant qu'on n'en soit venu à une paix honorable en Corée! Non, il ne faut pas s'inquiéter de semblables déclarations, qui, sommes toutes, sont plutôt des sondages."<sup>902</sup>

The international context following the Korean War certainly curtailed any Chinese attempts to reconcile with Canada. To press its point, China organized a Peace Conference in the autumn of 1953. Québec's representative was Gérard Filion, Director of *Le Devoir*.<sup>903</sup> Filion mentions that the Chinese felt uncomfortable discussing the fate of Québec missionaries in China, while organizing a Peace conference. Filion understood that the Cold War, transcending the Korean War, represented a deep division between two different worlds, an atheist communist society versus a Christian liberal one.

Rideau de préjugés ou rideau de fer? Ni l'un ni l'autre. Ce n'est pas par la fermeture de ses frontières que le bloc soviétique se tranche de l'Occident. C'est par une philosophie incompatible avec le christianisme. Il a fondé une nouvelle église dont le coeur et la tête sont au Kremlin. Mais nous savons que cette église ne possède pas comme l'autre les promesses de durée.<sup>904</sup>

Wars raging in Indochina forced Canada to delay the recognition of China as well. Canadian Prime Minister Louis Saint-Laurent argued that the time was not ripe for the recognition of Beijing because of its role in supporting the war of national liberation of the

---

<sup>902</sup> *Missions Saint-Viateur*, no. 52, 15 June 1953.

<sup>903</sup> See Gérard Filion, *Rideau de fer*. Filion mentions that eleven representatives from Canada attended the Conference. He does not name the other ten members.

<sup>904</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Vietminh.<sup>905</sup> Following the end of the first Indochinese War (1945-1954), the Geneva Settlement was intended to disarm belligerents, assure free elections in Vietnam (North and South), and make certain that the provisions of the Geneva Settlement were respected.<sup>906</sup> The subsequent International Control Commission consisted of Canada, India, and Poland.<sup>907</sup> Canadian troops were sent to Indochina to supervise the implementation of the agreement, even though Canada had not participated in the elaboration of the Geneva Settlement.<sup>908</sup>

Canada's appointment to the Commission for Indochina delayed Canadian diplomatic recognition of the PRC. Canada reluctantly participated in the Commission for Indochina as a result of which Canadian soldiers were expected to supervise the disarmament of the Vietminh, who had been supported by China. Unfortunately for Canada, the Geneva Settlement failed to secure sustainable peace in the region because of the attitudes of the United States and South Vietnam on one side and China and North Vietnam on the other. Both sides violated the terms of the Geneva Settlement. It was impossible for the Commission either to halt the import of Chinese arms to Northern

---

<sup>905</sup> J.L. Granatstein, *Canadian Foreign policy Since 1945; Middle Power or Satellite?* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969), p. 339. Louis Saint-Laurent said on March 25, 1954: "For us at any time to come to the conclusion that even diplomatic recognition of China would not be helpful to peace and security in the world."

<sup>906</sup> See Holmes, *The Better Part*, pp. 218-226, and Holmes & Laroche, pp. 293-297.

<sup>907</sup> The original name of the commission was Commission internationale de contrôle et de surveillance en Indochine.

Even though Canadians were not at the table of negotiations during the Geneva Accords, but they managed to meet the Chinese and assured the release of the last Canadian prisoner-of-war of the Korean War. Holmes, p. 203.

Tonkin or to assure the end of military sales, some of which were produced in Canada, to South Vietnam. According to Holmes and Laroche, the failure of the Commission hinted that Canadian influence on American Indochina policy was minimal. Canada's involvement in the Commission of Indochina was incompatible with Canadian diplomatic recognition of China because of American interest in Indochina.<sup>909</sup> The victory of North Vietnamese forces aided by China in 1954, resulted in the creation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)<sup>910</sup> which was aimed at containing communism in Southeast Asia. The move angered the Chinese who responded by shelling the small islands of Quemoy and Matsu, which were still under the control of Taiwan. Taiwan responded by bombarding the Chinese coast with American-made planes. Thereafter, the United States and Taiwan signed a mutual-defense treaty (December 1954) which merged American and Taiwanese interests to the detriment of diplomatic recognition of China. It became almost impossible for Canada to recognize China because its close ally the United States was too deeply involved in containing China. The Americans would have seen any Canadian rapprochement with China as a confrontation. *Le Devoir* clearly stated that Canada had to await a move from the United States to proceed with final diplomatic recognition for China.

---

<sup>909</sup> Holmes & Laroche, pp. 296-297. "L'influence du Canada dans les affaires internationales est souvent liée à l'image que se font certains pays de l'influence qu'exerce le Canada à Washington, et toute action, qui pourrait saper soit cette influence soit cette image, serait néfaste. Le problème indochinois met aussi en relief, d'une manière flagrante, la question de la reconnaissance diplomatique de la Chine populaire et de son admission au sein de l'ONU."

<sup>910</sup> Members of SEATO included the USA, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Pakistan, and Thailand.



Que les États-Unis modifient leur attitude et s'apprêtent à reconnaître le gouvernement de la Chine continentale, et on verra le Canada se faire une opinion en l'espace de 24 heures. Car tel semble devenue la marge de notre indépendance réelle dans les questions vraiment importantes [...] Si les persécutions religieuses en Chine interdisent de reconnaître Pékin, reconnaître un gouvernement signifie-t-il que dans le pays il n'y a pas de persécutions religieuses? Mais alors pourquoi entretenir des relations avec la Russie, la Pologne ou la Yougoslavie. Les États-Unis refusent de reconnaître la Chine parce ce qu'ils ont joué trop longtemps la carte de Tchang Kai Shek; ils sont devenus prisonniers de cette position. Il leur répugne trop d'admettre officiellement leur erreur. Ils préfèrent nier la réalité.<sup>911</sup>

China's isolation in the 1950s and the 1960s further delayed diplomatic recognition by Canada. Canada's hesitation in recognizing the Chinese government became irrelevant because China began rebuilding its country with minimal help except from the USSR. The Great Leap Forward in 1958 and the subsequent Cultural Revolution (1964-1969) strained relations between China and the rest of the world. Notwithstanding Canada's desire to keep open diplomatic relations with China, the normalization of relations with the PRC took more than a decade before becoming effective, which it did in October 1970 when Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau (1919-2000) met Mao Zedong in Beijing later on.

Québec lobbies against communism played an important role in delaying Canadian diplomatic recognition of China. The ability of the missionaries to exert pressure against the recognition of China had results because Ottawa hesitated to recognize the PRC. The Jesuit magazine *Relations* was the periodical most outspoken against Québec and Canadian recognition of China. Québec missionaries were capable of

---

<sup>911</sup> *Le Devoir*, 3 February 1956.

gathering support against recognition of the PRC; they had good reasons to do so because Québec missionaries in captivity in China provided an extraordinary reason to delay diplomatic recognition of the PRC. Québec missionaries used the Cold War atmosphere to generate fear of Chinese communism, a Cold War enemy.

American influence on Canada's foreign policy was the principal reason why Canada did not recognize China. The United States refusal to recognize China shaped Canada's hesitation towards the PRC. In light of the events of the 1950s, McCarthyism also overshadowed any glimmer of hope to see Canada recognize the PRC. Canada was under American influence not the traditional English influence in Asian politics. Combined with Québec missionary pressure, American attitude left the Canadian government with few reasons to recognize the PRC.

By the mid-1950s, Québec's involvement in China had come to a complete stop. No more Québec missionaries were present in the PRC. Trade had been completely halted. Québec's subsequent involvement with China reflected the changes happening back home. Québec's involvement with China would take the secular turn of the Quiet Revolution, ending missionaries' near monopoly on Québec's window to the world.

## Conclusion

Québec's involvement in China provided Quebecers with a window on the world. Whatever the distance or the cultural gap, Québec literature focused on China as on no other foreign country, with the exception of France and England for the obvious cultural reasons. The motivation for Québec fascination with China can be traced back to the beginning of New France. Two centuries of sporadic relations finally crystallized at the turn of the twentieth century when missionary and lay individuals began traveling to China on a regular basis. It is clear that the significant number of Quebecers who traveled to China helps to explain why so much literature on China was produced in Québec during the first half of the twentieth century.

Persons who worked, lived, wrote, and studied in the two places made Québec-China linkages possible. First, Jesuits made their worldwide network available for missionaries to work in China and Quebec. Québec missionaries, with the sponsorship of Université Laval, kept Québec/China relations alive with the opening of the Musée chinois in Québec City. The creation of the *Oeuvres* fostered the Sainte-Enfance, which became a major contributor to Québec's missionary involvement in China.

The forced opening of Chinese ports in 1842 resulted in the scramble by Western nations that helped to consolidate Québec's presence in China. The benefit to Québec was two-fold: France protected Québec missionaries, while England possessed numerous

commercial posts in China. Québec's bourgeoisie saw Montréal as a trading junction between the Orient and Europe. The Canadian Pacific Railway and Steamship Company became a promoter of the Chinese market, being capable of offering a *tour du monde* in record time both for tourists and for merchandise. *Chinoiserie* became fashionable; late nineteenth and early twentieth century Orientalism found its niche in Québec. After the Boxer Rebellion, Québec's involvement in China became more complete when Québec missionaries, from all denominations, sailed to the Middle Kingdom. The sudden presence of foreigners on Chinese soil eroded what was left of Qing imperial power, politically, militarily and ideologically. Even Chinese intellectuals such as Liang Qichao traveled abroad and turned to Montréal for the secrets of Western wealth and power.

The republican years in China (1912-1949) were characterized by the need to import Western expertise, including from Québec. China's inability to ensure political stability increased the need for missionaries and foreign personnel. The militarization of China during the warlord period limited governmental investment in social services. Québec missionaries worked to change China in education, medicine and mentality. Québec missionaries found themselves witnessing China's rapid social and political transformation.

The republican China years were a period of great transformations in which Québec witnesses left an array of observations. Quebecers, mainly missionaries, made comments on China's Republican revolution, World War One, the May Fourth Movement,

warlordism, reunification, Japanese aggression, World War Two, civil war, communism, secularization of the state, and finally, the Cold War.

World War Two momentarily halted Québec's missionary involvement in China, which reached its apex just days before Canada's declaration of war against Japan in 1941. Japanese aggression in China had a direct impact in Québec: Dr. Norman Bethune left Montréal for China and so did numerous Québec-based soldiers. The war had a devastating effect; Quebecers were detained in China and Japan while Japanese were detained in Canada and Québec. Two Québec Conferences (1943-1944) suggest that China was a major player in world affairs, especially when communism was at stake. Efforts were made to secure GMD control over China, but the ineptitude of the Republicans against the more disciplined CCP undermined any Québec optimism about the outcome of the Chinese Civil War.

The establishment of the PRC proved to be a major challenge to Québec's involvement in China. Communism in China meant that religion and the use of foreign missionaries would vanish. Not surprisingly, communism, in tune with Confucian agnosticism, meant that the new China would nationalize religion. Québec missionaries were asked to leave China. Québec Catholic missionaries, obeying Vatican orders, resisted leaving China, showing their deep attachment to the land in which they had worked and lived. In fact, they were among the last Westerners to leave after the communist revolution in 1949. Québec missionaries fought against Chinese nationalization of religion and communism; their struggle became Québec's Cold War. Communism meant

that Québec's involvement in China ceased abruptly, therefore closing one of Québec's windows to the world.

For better or worse, Québec trade with China continued despite political instability. Only when China closed its doors to the West did Québec's involvement in China come to a nearly complete halt. From mid-eighteenth century sales of ginseng to Second World War aircraft, Québec's trade with China introduced products from the West that reflected the globalization of goods and ideas.

War also strengthened Québec's involvement with China. The Boxers, World War One, the warlord period, World War Two and the Korean War were conflicts which attracted people from Québec to China. Québec missionaries were sent to replace Europeans missionaries, eventually some Québec missionaries worked to recruit Chinese volunteers heading to the European front during the World War One. World War Two in Asia did not pass unnoticed in Québec. From the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, prominent Montréalers traveled to China. Dr. Norman Bethune worked with the Chinese Communists, while Québec soldiers were sent to Hong Kong to defend the British colony from Japanese aggression. In both China and Québec, civilians were detained during the war. Two Québec conferences were held to plan for China's liberation and the release of prisoners of war. Finally, the Korean War, covered by Québec journalist René Lévesque, was the principal conflict involving Québec in the Cold War. Québec soldiers once again were sent to East Asia, this time to combat Chinese and Korean communism.

Québec missionaries also joined the battle by opposing their faith to communism and Canadian recognition of the PRC.

The impact of Québec's involvement in China appears to have been modest, yet it was ever present in all parts of China. Québec missionaries helped China's future leaders to learn about the West and they also provided education for the masses. All political factions in China, constitutionalists such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, republicans such as Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Soong Meiling, and communists such as Mao Zedong, came to know someone related to Québec. Individuals such as Dr. Norman Bethune and Two-Gun Cohen marked China's turbulent years by associating themselves with revolutionary movements aimed at taking power. In a way, MIC and Notre-Dame des Anges were also revolutionary. They were among the first to open schools for women in China, teaching *en français* to Chinese, Manchu and Hakka women. Their contributions remained modest, but they were acting like numerous foreigners who unintentionally accelerated the social transformation of China.

During the first half of the twentieth century, China deeply impacted on Quebecers and on Québec culture. The literary material written by Québec missionaries and their involvement in China are substantial. Numerous periodicals and books indicate that China occupied a major place on the Québec literary scene. The great number of these publications demonstrates that a part of Québec's population was interested in China. All social classes in Québec were informed about China. Aside from literature, information

about China reached various sectors of Québec culture. Québec films, radio, music, performing arts, and exhibitions were all influenced by China.

China also had a profound impact on religion in Québec. Québec's churches collected a substantial amount of money for China. Almost all Catholic students were obliged to save money for *les petits chinois*. Competition between students reflected the greater competition of Christian congregations (Catholic vs Protestant) in China. With the influence exerted by religious congregations in Québec's school system, it is no surprise to see that almost all Catholic children in Québec were affected by China. This heritage is hard to evaluate, but it shows that there was a Québec window on the world. Quebecers could dream about China, they could travel to China.

The message transcending Québec's involvement in China could be defined as a devoted fascination. Alvin Austin qualified Québec's involvement in China as an interaction made of "curiosity, friendliness, and a genuine concern for the downtrodden."<sup>912</sup> Most of the actors mentioned in the thesis went to China with the notion of help in mind. Some expressed fascination with China clumsily, with irony and naiveté, but most recall their stay in China as a transcending experience and those who went to China were profoundly affected.

Québec's involvement in China took place in the context of international relations; it reflects globalization and rapprochement. Geographical and cultural distances are

---

<sup>912</sup> Austin, p. 151.



factors slowing down the process of globalization, but they can not block the flow of history. This thesis argued that Québec had relations with China before the Quiet Revolution; it proved that Québec was not isolated, but rather was quite involved in what was happening in the world.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Québec publications

*25 années de Missions des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes en Extrême-Orient.* Laval-des-Rapides: [s.n.], 1957.

*Album Souvenir La Société des Missions Étrangères de la Province de Québec, 1921-1936.* Pont-Viau: Missions-Étrangères, 1937.

APPEL, Maureen. "Canadian Attitudes to Communist China." Ph. D. thesis. McGill University, 1964.

ARNDT, Edward J. "Flashback in the History of the China Mission." *Concordia History Institute Quarterly*, 1993 66(2): 75-92.

BACON, René. *Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges.* Lennoxville: Missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges, 1996.

BEAUPIN, Eugène, Mgr. *Le Catholicisme en Chine.* Montréal: Action Paroissiale, 1925.

BERNARD, Antoine, C.S.V. *Les Soeurs de Saint-Paul de Chartres dans le monde -au Canada.* Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1957.

BERNARD, Prosper. *De l'autre côté de la terre: la Chine.* Montréal: Sciences et Cultures, 2000.

BERTHIAUME, Pierre. *Relation des aventures de Mathieu Saguean, Canadien.* Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1999.

BERTRAND, D. *La politique extérieure et militaire du Canada et la réaction canadienne-française à la veille de la Deuxième Grande Guerre 1935-1939.* Montréal: [s.n.], 1965.

BILODEAU, Ernest. *Un Canadien errant.* Montréal: Imprimerie de La Salle, 1919.

BIZIER, Hélène Andrée. *Le Noir et le Rouge.* Montréal: Libre Expression, 1995.

BONIN, Antonio, 1901-1978. *Mon témoignage.* Montréal: Éditions Missions-Étrangères, 1955.

BOURASSA, Henri. *Le Canada apostolique.* Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1919.

- BOURASSA, Léo Paul. *Ame Japonaise*. Trois-Rivières: Éditions du Bien public, 1941.
- BOURASSA, Léo Paul. *Tactiques communistes contre l'Église: l'expérience chinoise*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Heure, 1962.
- BYAS, Hugh. *Le Japon et la Guerre*. Montréal: Les Éditions Variétés, 1942.
- CARON, Adrien. *Le texte chinois du catéchisme*. Québec: Mission Chinoise Catholique, 1946.
- CHABOT, Marie-Emmanuel. *Elles ont tout donné: les Ursulines de Stanstead de 1881 à 1934*. Lac Beauport: Éditions A. Sigier, 1983.
- CLOUTIER, Urbain-Marie. *Propos japonais*. Québec: Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire, 1922,
- CLOUTIER, Urbain. *Le Raffinement Japonais*. Québec: Smyrne Braine-le-comte, 1934.
- CLOUTIER, Urbain-Marie. *Le Conflit sino-japonais*. Québec: [s.n.], 1938.
- COITEUX, Ferdinand. *Martyr à Chefoo. Père Didace Arcand, O.F.M., missionnaire en Chine*. Montréal: Éditions Franciscaine, 1960.
- COLEMAN, J. C. "C. C. F. Foreign Policy in the 1930's." Ph. D. thesis. Université de Montréal, 1965.
- COMEAU, Robert ed. *Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, un intellectuel de combat*. Hull: Vents d'Ouest, 1996.
- Conseil National de l'Union Missionnaire du Clergé. *Actes du premier congrès national de l'union missionnaire du clergé au Canada*. Québec: [s.n.], 1943.
- COULOMBE, Michel et Marcel Jean. *Dictionnaire du Cinéma Québécois*. Montréal: Boréal, 1999.
- Courrier missionnaire des jeunes. *L'Aventure de Su-sa-na: histoire d'une petite chinoise*. Québec: [s.n.], 194?
- Courrier missionnaire des jeunes, *Tourbillon: histoire chinoise*. Québec: [s.n.], 194?
- CUSHING, Richard. *Questions et Réponses sur le Communisme*. Sherbrooke: Apostolat de la Presse, 1961.

- DALLAIRE, Jean-Paul. *Deux Écrivains Chinois Lao She et Ts'ao Yü*. Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire, 1946.
- DASIE, Antoinette. *Fleurettes missionnaires*. Québec: Éditions Stella Maris, 1930.
- DASIE, Antoinette. *Les visions d'Orient*. Québec: Éditions Stella Maris; Imprimerie des franciscaines missionnaires de Marie, 1932.
- DESJARDINS, Georges. *Le Dragon Rouge*. Montréal: Le Messenger Canadien, 1961.
- DRAGON, Antonio. *En mission parmi les Rouges*. Montréal: Le Messenger Canadien, 1946.
- DRAGON, Antonio. *Le Père Bernard*. Montréal: Le Messenger Canadien, 1948.
- DRAPEAU, Jean. *Communisme et Moralité Publique*. Montréal: Le Comité de Moralité Publique de Montréal, 1956.
- DUFFETT, W. F., A.R. Hicks, and G. R. Parkin. *L'Inde d'aujourd'hui*. Montréal: Éditions Bernard Valiquette, 1944.
- FILION, Gérard. *Rideau de fer au rideau de préjugés*. Montréal: Le Devoir, 1953.
- FORTIN, André, p.m.é. *La valeur religieuse des religions païennes*. Union Missionnaire du Clergé: Québec, 1950.
- GAGAN, Rosemary R. *A Sensitive Independence; Canadian Methodist Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1992.
- GERVAIS, Émile. *Les Soeurs missionnaires Notre-dame-des-anges de Sherbrooke*. Québec: Bélisle Éditeur, 1963.
- GERVAIS, Émile. *Un mois en Chine avec les Soeurs Missionnaires Notre-dame-des-anges du Diocèse de Sherbrooke*. Sherbrooke: Messenger St-Michel, 1937.
- GILBERT, Édouard. *Entr' quatr' murailles: quatre ans internement en Mandchourie*. Pont-Viau: Éditions Missions-Étrangères, 1946.
- GOBEIL, Sam. *Le péril communiste*. Québec:[s.n.], 1953.
- GRATON, A. *Les trente premières années de l'Institut des Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception*. Montréal: [s.n.], 1960.
- GROULX, Lionel. *Le Canada français missionnaire*. Montréal: Fides, 1962.

- HAMELIN, Jean. "Québec et le monde extérieur, 1867-1967" in *Annuaire du Québec*. Québec: Éditeur Officiel, 1968-1969.
- HAMELIN, Marcel. *Les mémoires du sénateur Raoul Dandurand, 1861-1942*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967.
- HARE, John. "Les Canadiens Français aux quatre coins du monde: une bibliographie commentée des récits de voyage, 1670-1914" in *Cahiers d'Histoire*, no. 16. Québec: Société historique de Québec, 1964.
- HELLY, Denise. *Les Chinois de Montréal, 1877-1951*. Montréal: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1987.
- HILLIKER, John. *Canada's Department of External Affairs. Volume 1: The Early Years, 1909-1946*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.
- HO, Jean. *Le triple demisme: principes politiques et sociaux de la République Chinoise*. Montréal: Institut Véritas, 1952.
- HO, Jean. *Que faire en présence de la Chine communiste*. Montréal: Édition de la Ligue anti-communiste, 1949.
- HO, Jean. *Malheureux sort des paysans en Chine communiste*. Montréal: Institut Veritas, 1951.
- HO, Jean. *Ma conversion au catholicisme*. Montréal: Institut Veritas, 1951.
- HO Kwong-Ming. "The Montreal Chinese Hospital 1918-1982: a Case Study of an Ethnic Institution." M.A. thesis. McGill University, 1984.
- JACKSON, Paul. *Norman Bethune, 1890-1939; médecin du peuple*. Montréal: Éditions Drapeau Rouge, 1979.
- KERVAL, Léon. *Le R.P. Théodoric Balat et le Fr. André Bauer massacrés en Chine le 9 juillet 1900*. Montréal: Revue du Tiers-Ordre et de la Terre Sainte, 1906.
- KRZESINSKI, André. *Le problème du Christianisme en Extrême-orient*. Montréal: Fides, 1947.
- LAFORTUNE, Édouard. *Canadiens en Chine, croquis du Siu-tcheou fou*. Montréal: L'Action Paroissiale, 1930.
- LANGLAIS, Jacques. *Les Jésuites du Québec en Chine, 1918-1955*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1979.

- LAPERRIÈRE, Guy. *Au plus fort de la tourmente 1901/1904*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996.
- LAUREYS, Henry. *La Conquête des Marchées Extérieurs*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1927.
- LAVOIE, Joseph Louis. *Quand j'étais Chinois*. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1961.
- LECLERC, Richard. *Des lys à l'ombre du mont Fuji. Histoire de la présence de l'Amérique française au Japon*. Sillery: Éditions du Bois-de-Coulonge, 1995.
- LI Shenwen. *Stratégies missionnaires des jésuites français en Nouvelle-France et en Chine au XVIIe siècle*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001.
- LONGTIN, Pauline. *Fondement de l'esprit missionnaire chez Délia Tétreault*. Montréal: Les Soeurs Missionnaire de l'Immaculée-Conception, 1983.
- MAHONEY, Irene. *Avec toi jusqu'au bout du monde, 30 ans de mission ursuline en Chine*. Québec: Éditions Anne Sigier, 1997.
- MARIN, Georges. *La Chine à Dieu: une mission canadienne, le Siu-Tcheou-Fou*. Montréal: Procure de la Mission de Chine, 1925.
- Mère Marie-Gabriel, Co-fondatrice des Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges (1899-1974), Lennoxville: [s.n.], 1983.
- MERTENS, Pierre-Xavier. *L'Église en Chine, situation actuelle*. Montreal: École Sociale Populaire, 1948.
- MEYER, Benice. "Our Medical Mission in Ensih, Hupeh China." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*. 1993 66(2): 58-65.
- MILLER, Émile Miller. *Mon voyage autour du monde*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1923.
- MILOT, Antonio. "Le communisme reste toujours d'actualité " in *Les Chevaliers de Colomb de la Province du Québec et le Communisme*. Textes des conférences diffusées par le poste CKAC au cours de l'Exercice 1950-1951. Montréal: [s.n.], 1951.
- Missions des Franciscaines missionnaires de Marie*. Québec: Missions franciscaines, 1958.
- Missions Saint-Viateur 15 ans d'apostolat en Mandchourie, 1931-1946*. Montréal: Clercs Saint-Viateur, 1946.

Montreal Chinese Student Association. *The Sino-Japanese Conflict*. Montréal: S Kwauk ed., assisted by W. H. Fong, 1962.

*Nuits de paix: souvenirs d'un apostolat déjà lointain, hélas! En terre de Chine*. [s.n.]: [s.n.], 194?

OLIVIER, Maurice. *Le Canada: pays souverain*. Montréal: [s.n.], 1935.

PAINCHAUD, Paul. *Le Canada et le Québec sur la scène internationale*. Québec: Centre québécois des relations internationales, 1977.

PATRY, André. *Les éléments de la politique étrangère du Canada*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1947.

PATRY, André. *Le Québec dans le monde*. Montréal: Leméac, 1980.

PÉLOQUIN, Bonaventure. *Ame d'élite: le catéchiste Sio Luo T'é*. Montréal: [s.n.], 1915.

PÉLOQUIN, Bonaventure. *Débuts d'un missionnaire*. Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire, 1922.

PÉLOQUIN, Bonaventure. *Peuples d'Orient*. Conférence prononcée au Collège de Lévis. Québec: [s.n.], 1927.

PÉLOQUIN, Bonaventure. *Peuples orientaux et peuples occidentaux: relations et conflits*. Québec: [s.n.], 1929.

PÉLOQUIN, Bonaventure. *Pourquoi je rentre en Chine*. Montréal: [s.n.], 1929.

PÉLOQUIN, Bonaventure. *Mon retour en Chine: lettre ouverte à mes parents, zélatrices amis et bienfaiteurs*. Québec: [s.n.], 1930.

Pères Viateur. *Visions de Mandchourie*. Montréal: Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, 1929.

PÉRUSSE, Denise. *L'homme sans rivages. Portrait d'Alain Grandbois*. Montréal: Hexagone, 1994.

PIUS XII. *Actes Pontificaux no. 48. Aux fidèles de Chine*. Montréal: Institut social populaire, 1952.

POISSON, C. *Joseph Lo-Pa-Hong. Le Coolie de saint Joseph*. Montréal: L'Action Paroissiale, 1938.

PRÉVOST, Léopold. *Le Père Donat Gariépy de la Compagnie de Jésus: le petit serviteur*

- de Dieu (1884-1962)*. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1965.
- PRIMEAU, Joachim. *Neuvaine de la Grâce en l'honneur de Saint François Xavier*. Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1949.
- PROULX, Armand S. J. *Mon T'ang-li*. Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1958.
- RAGUIN, Yves. *Au delà de son rêve, Délia Tétrault*. Montréal: Fides, 1991.
- RENAUD, Rosario. *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine), vol. 1 & 2. Champ apostolique des Jésuites canadiens de 1918-1954*. Montréal: Éditions Bellermin, 1955 & 1982.
- RENAUD, Rosario. *Suchow '48*. Montréal: Procure des Missions, 1949.
- RICHER, Léopold. *Le Canada et le bloc anglo-saxon*. Montréal: [s.n.], 1940.
- RONDEAU, Clovis. *L'évangélisation de la Chine*. Pont-Viau: Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, 1928.
- SCHETAGNE, Fernand. *Portraits de Mandchourie*. Montréal: Fides, 1946.
- SHULMAN, Deborah. "From the pages of Three Ladies: Canadian Women Missionaries in Republican China" M. A. thesis. Concordia University, 1996.
- SIMON, A. *Les caprices d'un géant ou les meilleurs récits de nos missionnaires canadiens*. Collection: Récits, aventures et missions, vol. 1. Montréal: Ordinaire de Montréal, 1950.
- Société de Jésus. *Les Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Montréal: Action Paroissiale, 1940.
- Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception. *Mission canadienne de Canton, Chine*. Outremont: Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, 1911.
- Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception. *1913 à l'Immaculée-Conception*. Montréal: Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, 1913.
- Soeurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception. *Braise et Encens*. Montréal: [s.n.], 1960.
- Soeurs missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges. *Lys de Chine : bienheureuses vierges martyres, Agathe Lin (1813-1862) et Lucie Y(1858)*. Lennoxville: [s.n.], 1941.
- ST-AMOUR, Marielle et Jo-Ann Stanton. *Alain Grandbois*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1990.



TANGHE, Raymond. *Le Canada dans l'ordre international*. Montréal: Fidès, 1944.

TRUDEAU, Pierre Elliott & Jacques Hébert. *Deux innocents en Chine rouge*.  
Montréal: les Éditions de l'Homme, 1961.

Union Missionnaire du Clergé. *La valeur religieuse des religions païennes*. Québec:  
Union Missionnaire du Clergé, 1950.

VANDIER-Nicolas. *Notes sur la pensée chinoise antique*. Montréal: Édition de la  
Procure des Missions, 1954.

VENNAT, Pierre. *Les Héros oubliés: L'histoire inédite des militaires canadiens-  
français de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, 3 tomes. Montréal: Éditions du  
Méridien, 1997.

VENNAT, Pierre. *Baptiste au pays du matin calme: les militaires canadiens-français en  
guerre de Corée 1950-1953*. Montréal: Éditions Méridien, 2000.

VERREAULT, Georges. *Journal d'un prisonnier de guerre au Japon, 1941-1945*.  
Montréal: Septentrion, 1993.

WARD, Peter W. *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward  
Orientals in British Columbia*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978.

WU, Jean Ching Hsiung. *La Science de l'Amour, étude sur le message de Thérèse de  
Lisieux*. Montréal: Procure des Missions de Chine, 1951.

YUN Juan Hu. "L'image de la Chine dans la pensée des soeurs missionnaires (1909-  
1938)." Rapport de maîtrise. Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 1992.

## **Québec Periodicals consulted**

*Annales des Franciscaines Missionnaires* (Paris: 1886) (Québec: 1929)  
*Annales de la propagation de la foi* (Montréal: 1877)  
*Annuaire des missions de Chine*. (Shanghai : 1922-1949)  
*Le Brigand* (Montréal: 1930)  
*Bulletin des Pères du St-Esprit* (Québec: 1927)  
*En Chine avec les Soeurs missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges* (Sherbrooke: 1939)  
*En mission avec les Soeurs missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges* (Sherbrooke: 1950)  
*Gazette officielle du Québec* (Québec: 1869)  
*Jésuites Canadiens* (Montréal: 1948)  
*Le Messager Canadien du Sacré-cœur* (Montréal: 1903)  
*Missions Étrangères du Québec* (Pont-Viau: 1941)  
*Missions Franciscaines* (Sorel: 1923)  
*Missions Saint-Viateur* (Montréal: 1949)  
*Missionary Outlook* (Montréal: 1895)  
*La Nacelle de Sainte-Ursule* (Trois-Rivières: 1896)  
*Nouvelles. Provinces de Montréal et Québec*  
*Le Précurseur* (Outremont: 1920)  
*The Presbyterian Record* (Montréal: 1876)  
*The Protestant* (Montréal: 1874)  
*Prêtre et Missions* (Québec: 1925)  
*Relations* (Montréal: 1941)  
*Süchow Nouvelles* (Xuzhou: 1939)

## **Archives consulted**

Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec (Montréal)  
Clercs Saint-Viateur (Montréal)  
Collection Jésuite du Musée de la Civilisation (Québec City)  
Holy Spirit Academy (Hong Kong)  
Jesuit Maison Bellarmin (Montréal)  
Jewish Center Library (Montréal)  
Musée de l'Amérique française, collection Jésuite du Musée d'Ethnologie de Québec  
National Archives Canada (Ottawa)  
National Archives Québec (Québec & Montréal)  
National Film Board (Montréal)  
Personal Archives of Alain Grandbois at the BNQ (Montréal)

## **Films**

*À la croisée des chemins*, produced by la Société des Missions-Étrangères de la Province de Québec, producer: Jean Marie Poitevin, 1942.

*Après 25 ans*, Film of the Clercs Saint-Viateur, 1946.

*The Battle of China*. Modacy Video. Ville St-laurent, 1992.

*Premiers missionnaires canadiens en Mandchourie*, Jean Marie Poitevin, 1934.

*Péripéties d'une randonnée en Mongolie intérieure*, Jean Marie Poitevin, 1938.

*Le Quartier Chinois*, National Filmboard of Canada. From the serie "Passe-Partout," hosted by Gérard Pelletier, 1955.

*Chine sous les armes*. National Film Board of Canada, 1941.

## **Newspapers**

*L'Action catholique*

*Le Devoir*

*L'Écho du Pays*

*The Gazette*

*Montreal Star*

*La Patrie*

*La Presse*

## **Canadian publications (except Québec)**

ADACHI, Ken. *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

ALLEN, Ted. *The Scalpel, the Sword: the Story of Doctor Norman Bethune*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989.

Anciens Combattants/Veteran Affairs. *Souvenir de vaillance. Les Canadiens en Corée*. Ottawa: Gouvernement du Canada, 1985.

Anciens Combattants/Veteran Affairs. *Un courage peu ordinaire. Les agents secrets canadiens au cours de la Seconde Guerre mondiale*. Ottawa: Gouvernement du Canada, 1985.

ANGUS, H. F. *Canada and the Far East 1940-1953*. Institute of Pacific Relations, University of Toronto Press, 1953.

AUSTIN, Alwyn. *Saving China, Canadian Mission in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.

ANGLIN, Douglas. "Canadian Policy Towards International Institutions, 1939-1950." Ph. D. thesis. Oxford University, 1957.

BROADFOOT, Barry. *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame. The Story of the Japanese Canadians in World War II*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1977.

BEATON, Kenneth. *West of the Gorges*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1948.

BROWN, George and J. Careless. *Canada and the World*. London: Dent, 1957.

- BUCK, Tim. *Canada: the Communist Viewpoint*. Toronto: Progress Books, 1948.
- Canada. Department of External Affairs. *Documents on Canadian External Relations, 1909-1945*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967-1970.
- Canada in World Affairs*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939-1963.
- CARBONNEAU, Robert. "The Passionists in China, 1921-1929: An Essay in Mission Experience." *Catholic Historical Review*. 1980 66(3): 392-416.
- CHAN, Anthony. *Golden Mountain: The Chinese in the New World*. Vancouver: New Stasic Books, 1983.
- CHEN Min-sun & Lawrence N. Shyu. *China Insight*, Ottawa: Canadian Asian Studies Association Carleton University, 1985.
- CHIANG, Haven. "Diplomatic Relations between China and Canada." M.A. thesis. University of Ottawa, 1958.
- CLARKSON, Stephen. *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada?* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1968.
- CON, Harry, Ronald J. Con, Graham Johnson, William E. Wilmott Edgar Wickberg ed. *From China to Canada. A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982.
- CONNER, Alison. "Legal Education during the Republican Period: Soochow University Law School" *Republican China*. 1993 19(1): 84-112.
- DAWSON, MacGegor. *Canada in World Affairs, 1939-1941*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1943.
- EASTMAN, Samuel Mack. *Canada at Geneva; an Historical Survey and its Lessons*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1946.
- EAYRS, James. *In Defense of Canada: Peacemaking and Deterrence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- EAYRS, James. *The Art of the Possible; Government and Foreign Policy in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- ENDICOTT, Stephen. *James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- EVANS, Paul and Michael Frolic. *Reluctant Adversaries: Canada and the People's Republic of China, 1949-1970*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

- EVANS, Paul. "Canada and Taiwan: A forty-year Survey" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. 1990 (1): 165-188.
- EVANS, Paul and Daphnee Gottlieb Taras. " Looking (Far) East: Parliamentary Involvement in Canada-China Relations, 1949-1982." *Parliament and Foreign Affair*. Ed. David Taras. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1985.
- FARRELL, Robert. B. *The Making of Canadian Foreign Policy*. Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- FERGUSON, Ted. *Desperate Siege: the Battle of Hong Kong*. Toronto: Double Day & Company, 1968.
- FU Shouchao. "Spatial Patterns of China-Canada Academic Contacts, 1949-1987." M.A. thesis. University of Western Ontario, 1989.
- GEWURT, Margo S. "For God or for King: Canadian Missionaries and the Chinese Labour Corps in World War I" in *China Insight*, pp. 31-55.
- GLAZEBROOK, George. *Canadian External Relations: A Historical Study to 1914*. Toronto: Oxford.1942.
- GLAZEBROOK, George. *A History of Canadian External Relations*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966.
- GLAZEBROOK, George. *A History of Canadian Political Thought*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966.
- GORDON, J. King, ed. *Canada as a Middle Power*. Toronto, CIIA, 1966.
- GORDON, Walter. *A Choice for Canada: Independence or Colonial Status*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1966.
- GRANATSTEIN, J. L. ed. *Canadian Foreign Policy since 1945; Middle Power or Satellite?* Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969.
- HARRISON. W. E. C. *Canadan in World Affairs, 1949-1950*. Toronto: Oxford, 1957.
- HOLMES, John W. *The Better Part of Valour: Essays on Canadian diplomacy*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1970.
- ION, Hamish. *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990.

- ION, Hamish. *The Cross and the Rising Sun, Volume 2: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, 1865-1945*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993.
- ION, Hamish. *The Cross and the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999.
- KONG-MING, Peter and Cheung Yuet-Wah. "Early Years of Medical missionary Work in the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in North Hunan, China, 1887-1900 Healing the Heathens and the Missionaries" in *Asian Profile*. 1984 12(5): 409-423.
- KOWALSKI, Kenneth Reginald. "The West China Mission and Education of the Methodist Church of Canada, Szechwan China, 1891-1911." M.A. thesis. University of Alberta, 1970.
- LAVIOLETTE, Forrest E. *The Canadian Japanese and World War II*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.
- LAWRIE, Bruce. "Wallace E. W. and the Canadian Methodist Response to China Educational Refrom, 1906-1926" *Methodist History*. 1994 32(3): 187-194.
- LAWRIE, Bruce. *Educational Missionaries in China: A Case Study of the Educational Enterprise of the Canadian Methodist Mission in Szechwan, West China, 1891-1925*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- League of Nations Society, Canada. *A New World or, the League of Nations*. Ottawa: [n.p.], 1927.
- LI, Peter. *The Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- LOWER, A. R. M. *Canada and the Far East*. Institute of Pacific Relations: University of Toronto Press, 1940.
- MA, Eve Armentrout. *Revolutionaries, Monarchists, and Chinatowns: Chinese Politics in the Americas and the 1911 Revolution*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.
- MACDONALD, A. J. *The War and the Missions in the East*. London: Robert Scott, 1949.
- MACKAY, Robert. *Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945-1954; Selected Speeches and Documents*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971.

- MACLEOD, Wendell, Libbie Park, and Stanley B. Ryerson. *Bethune: The Montreal Years -An Informal Portrait*. Toronto: James Lorimer, & Company Publishers 1978.
- MAXWELL, Grant. *Assignment in Chekiang: 71 Canadians in China*. Scarboro: Foreign Mission Society, 1982.
- MCEVOY, F. J. "A Symbol of Racial Discrimination: The Chinese Immigration Act and Canada's Relation with China, 1942-1947." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 1982 14(3): 24-42.
- MCGRATH, William C. *The Dragon at Close Range*. Shanghai: ABC Press, 1938.
- MCNAUGHT, Kenneth. *Who Controls Foreign Policy? American and Canadian Contrasts*. Toronto: CIIA, 1954.
- MENALLY, George F. "Odlum: Canada's First Ambassador to China." M.A. thesis. University of Alberta, 1977.
- MINDEN, Karen Paula. *The Evolution of a Chinese Medical Elite*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- MINDEN, Karen Paula. "Missionaries, Medicine and Modernization: Canadian Medical Missionaries in Sichuan, 1925-1952." Ph.D. thesis. York University, 1981.
- Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Youth Forward Movement. *Our West China Mission: Being as somewhat the Extensive Summary by the Missionaries on the Field of the Work during the First Twenty-five Years of the Canadian Methodist Missionaries in the Province of Szechwan, Western China*. Toronto: [s.n.], 1920.
- MITCHELL, Peter M. "Canada and the Chinese Labour Corps 1917-1920: The Official Connection." *China Insight*, Ottawa: Canadian Asian Studies Association Carleton University, 1985, pp.7-30.
- MUNRO, Kenneth. "The Chinese Immigration Act 1885: Adolphe Chapleau and the French Canadian Attitude" in *Études ethniques au Canada*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1987, pp. 89-101.
- NOSSAL, Kim Richard. "Strange Bedfellows: Canada and China in War and Revolution, 1942-1947." Ph. D. thesis. University of Toronto, 1977.
- PILON, R. "La représentation canadienne à l'étranger." M. A. thesis. Université d'Ottawa, 1946.



- PRINGSHEIM, Klaus H. *Neighbours Accross the Pacific. Canadian-Japanese Relations 1870-1982*. Oakville Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1983.
- PRINGSHEIM, Klaus H. *Neighbors Across the Pacific: The Development of Economic and Political Relations Between Canada and Japan*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983.
- QUINN, H.F. *The Union Nationale: A Study in Quebec Nationalism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- RIDDELL, Walter A. *Documents on Canadian Policy 1917-1939*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- REID, Escott. "Canadian Policy on China" in *Contemporary China*. Toronto: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1968, pp. 130-138.
- ROY, Patricia E., J.L. Granastein, Masako Iino, and Hiroko Takamura. *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese during the Second World War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- SAYWELL, William. *Canada and China*. Toronto: Ontarion Institute for Studies in Education, 1974.
- SCOTT, Munroe. *McClure the China Years*. Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada Limited, 1979
- SHEPARD, David A. and Andrée Lévesque. *Norman Bethune: his Time and his Legacy*. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association, 1982.
- SKILLING, Gordon. *Canadian Representation Abroad: From Agency to Embassy*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1945.
- SINGER, Martin. *Academic Relations Between Canada and China, 1970-1995*. Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1996.
- SLATER, Peter. "Religion as Story: the Biography of Norman Bethune" *Religion et Culture au Canada: Religion and Culture in Canada*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1977.
- SONG Zhuoying. "A Study of Three Women Missionaries of the United Church of Canada, from the Maritimes Provinces to Sichuan, China, 1933-1952." M.A. thesis. Saint Mary's University, 1993.
- SOWARD, Frederic. *Canada in World Affairs: the Pre-War Years*. Toronto: Oxford, 1950.

- SOWARD, Frederic. *The Department of External Affairs and Canadian Autonomy, 1899-1939*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1956.
- SPECTOR, Stanley. *Li Hung-chang and the Huai Army: A Study in Nineteenth Century Regionalism*. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1964.
- STACEY, C.P. *Canada and the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External Policies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- STACEY, C.P. *The Canadian Army, 1939-1945*. Ottawa: Ministry of National Defence, 1948.
- STAIRS, Denis. *The Diplomacy of Constraint: Canada, the Korean War, and the United States*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974,
- STEPHEN, Lyon. *James G. Endicott: Rebel out of China*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- STEWART, Roderick. *The Mind of Norman Bethune*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1990.
- STORY, Donald. "Canada, The League of Nations and the Far East, 1931-1933: The Cahan Incident." *The International History Review*. 1981 3(2): 236-255.
- STRANGE, W. *Canada, the Pacific and War*. Toronto: Nelson Books, 1937.
- STRUSBERGE, Peter. *The Golden Hope, Christians in China*. Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1987.
- SUMMERS, George K. "Norman Bethune, Canadian Surgeon: his Chinese Connection." *Journal Canadien de Chirurgie: Canadian Journal of Surgery*. 1985 26 (7): 379-382.
- TAN, Jin. *Les Chinois au Canada*. Ottawa: Société historique du Canada, 1985.
- TAYLOR, R.T. *Canada in the European Age 1453-1919*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1987.
- THOMPSON, James C. *While China Faced the West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- WANG Yong. "Mission Unfinished: the United Church of Canada and China, 1925-1970." Ph. D. thesis. University of Waterloo, 1995.
- WARD, Peter. *Les Japonais au Canada*. Ottawa: Société historique du Canada, 1982.

WICKBERG, Edgar. *From China to Canada; a History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

WOODSWORTH, Charles J. *Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations*. Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1941.

WU Chao-Kwang. *The International aspect of the Missionary Movement in China*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930.

XU Bai-Kang "L'Université l'Aurore et ses contributions dans l'enseignement du français en Chine" in *Premier colloque international sur l'enseignement du français en Chine: communications choisies*, André A. Obadia ed. Burnaby: Les Presses de l'Université Simon Fraser, 1990.

### **OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

AIGRAIN, René. *Les universités catholiques*. Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1935.

ANDRACKI, Stanislaw. *Immigration of Orientals into Canada with Special Reference to China*. New York: Arno Press, 1978.

*Annuaire des missions de Chine*. Shanghai: Bureau sinologique de Zi-kai-wei, 1922-1949.

AUBIN, Françoise. "Religions et systèmes de pensée en Chine." *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*. 1991 36(76): 169-189.

BERGERON, Marie-Ina. *Le Christianisme en Chine: approches et stratégies*. Lyon: Chalet, 1977.

BOYLE, John H. Boyle. *China and Japan, 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.

BUNKER, Gerald E. *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ch'ing-wei and the China War, 1937-1941*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

BUSH, Richard C. *Religion in Communist China*. Nashville : Abingdon Press, 1970.

CHANG Hao. *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971

CHEUNG Shengwu and Cheng Weitun. *Missionary Medicine in China: A Study of Two Canadian Protestant Mission in China before 1937*. Lantham: University Press of America, 1988.

- CHEUNG Yuet-Wah. *Missionary Medecine in China: A Study of Two Canadian Protestant Mission in China before 1937*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1988.
- CHIH, André. *L'Occident «chrétien» vu par les Chinois vers la fin du 19e siècle (1870-1900)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.
- COUTURIER, C. *Chine, où vas-tu? Bilan de la révolution chinoise, 1900-1957*. Paris: Éditions Fleurus, 1958,
- DARCOURT, Pierre. *Requiem pour l'église de Chine*. Paris: La Table Ronde, 1969.
- DRAGE, Charles. *The Life and Times of General Two-Gun Cohen*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1954.
- DUFAY, François. *En Chine: L'étoile contre la Croix*. Paris: Casterman, 1956.
- DUPERAY, Édouard. *Ambassadeurs de Dieu à la Chine*. Paris: Casterman, 1956.
- GALTER, Albert. *Le communisme et l'Église catholique*. Paris: Éditions Fleurus, 1956
- GERNET, Jacques. *China and the Christian Impact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- GREEN, R. W. *Mon calvaire en Chine; Calvary in China*, Marguerite Dubois trad. Paris: Corrêa, 1954.
- GUILLERMAZ, Jacques. *Histoire du parti communiste chinois, des origines à la république soviétique chinoise (1921-1934)*. Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 1975,
- HILL, John. *The Congress and Indian Nationalism: Historical Perspectives*, London: Curzon Press, 1991.
- HOUANG, François. *Ame Chinoise et Christianisme*. Paris: Casterman, 1957.
- LAMPE, David and Laszlo Szenasi. *The Self-Made Villain*. London: Cassell Books, 1961.
- Lazaristes du Peit'ang (Peiping)*. Shanghai: 13ème année (1935-1936)
- LECLERC, Jacques. *La vie du Père Lebbe*. Tournai: Casterman, 1955
- LEFEUVRE, Jean. *Shanghai: Les Enfants de la Ville*. Paris: Casterman, 1956.

- LEFFE, Jean. *Chrétiens dans la Chine de Mao*. Paris: Éditions Desclée de Brouwer, 1955.
- LEGRAND, F. *Le communisme arrive au village chinois*. Peiping: Scheut Editions, 1947.
- LE GRIS, Claude. *L'entrée du Canada sur la scène internationale, 1919-1927*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.
- LEVY, Daniel S. *Two-Gun Cohen a Biography*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- LIANG Qichao. *Hsin ta lu yun chi chieh lu*. Shanghai Chung Hua Shu Chu, 1937.  
(Xin da lu you ji xie lu, Shanghai Zhong hua shu chu).
- LUTZ, Jessie. *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- MACINNIS, Donald E. *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China; a Documentary History*. New York, Macmillan, 1972.
- MANDEL, Dorothy E. *Aspects of the Adoptive Process in Migration: The Chinese in Canada*. Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1988.
- POLLIO, Mgr. *Le calvaire de l'Église dans la Chine nouvelle*. Paris: Librairie Téqui, 1962.
- Procure des Missions, Jésuites canadiens. *Méthodes d'apostolat au Vicariat de Suchow*. Shanghai: Grand Séminaire de Zikawei, 1944.
- Procure des Missions, Jésuites canadiens. *Cours de pastorale suggestions et applications au Vicariat apostolique de Suchow*. Shanghai: Grand Séminaire de Zikawei, 1945.
- SHERIDAN, James E. *China in Disintegration: The Republican Era in Chinese History, 1912-1949*. New York; Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1975.
- SOETENS, Claude. "L'église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle" *Journal of Mission Studies*. Vol II, no.1, 1995.
- SPENCE, Jonathan. *The Search for Modern China*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990.
- STOCKWELL Frederick. *Religion in China Today*. Beijing: New World Press, 1993.
- THORGRIMSSON, Thor & E.C. Russell. *Canadian Naval Operations in Korean Waters, 1950-1955*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965.

TUCHMAN, Barbara W. *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1919-1945*. New York: MacMillan, 1971.

WANG, Peter. "Missionary Attitude Toward the Indigenization Movement in China: The Case of Wenshe, 1925-1928." *Republican China*. 1992 17(2): 110-128.

WASSERSTEIN, Bernard. *The Secret Lives of Trebitsch Lincoln*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

WEI Tsing-sing, Louis. *Le Saint-Siège et la Chine de Pie IX à nos jours*. Paris: Éditions A. Allaire, 1968.

YOUNG, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

# Appendice 1

## Abbreviations

ANC	Archives Nationales du Canada
BNQ	Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
GMD	Guomindang
MIC	Missionnaires de l’Immaculée-Conception
N.P.	No publisher
PRC	People’s Republic of China
S.N.	Sans nom
TAP	Triple Autonomy Policy

## Appendice 2

*Le Précuseur* May 1920.

*Le Précurseur*, no.1 May 1920, p.5.

Depuis plusieurs années déjà, les bienfaiteurs et amis de nos missions nous demandaient un périodique donnant les nouvelles de notre Société qui travaille, en pays idolâtre, à une petite partie de la vigne du Seigneur. À cette bienveillante requête, nous ne pouvions malheureusement répondre, les ressources manquant pour assurer l'existence d'une revue de ce genre.

Si, aujourd'hui, nous osons entreprendre semblable travail, ce n'est pas que nous soyons en meilleures conditions de le faire: c'est que nous y sommes fortement encouragées par notre vénéré archevêque, Monseigneur Bruchési, et par Son Excellence le Visiteur Apostolique de la Chine, Monseigneur de Guébraint, évêque de Canton. Un motif plus puissant encore nous y incite: dans ses audiences et dans sa correspondance privée et publique, le Souverain Pontife insiste plus que jamais sur la nécessité de promouvoir, par tous les moyens possibles, l'Oeuvre des missions. Il ne cesse d'encourager les pasteurs et les fidèles, et Sa Paternité compte que de notre généreuse Amérique viendra le secours qui sauvera les missions en détresse.

Quand ces modestes pages ne seraient publiées que dans le but de répondre au désir de notre bien-aimé Pontife et de nos Pasteurs, elles auraient leur raison d'être. À ce premier but vient se joindre celui, non moins légitime, d'apporter à nos bienfaiteurs quelques consolations en leur faisant connaître les fruits de leur générosité.

Les personnes charitables que la divine Providence a, dans le passé, placées sur la route des humbles Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception on toujours, et nous le disons avec reconnaissance, répondu avec un empressement digne de leur esprit de foi aux sollicitations que nous leurs avons adressées. C'est grâce à elles que ce premier numéro de nos Annales paraît au jour.

Mais pour assurer l'avenir de ce bulletin, il faut de nombreux abonnés. À notre Immaculée Mère et Patronne, nous demandons, en ce mois qui lui est consacré, de susciter, de partout, des zélateurs et zélatrices apôtres, voyant dans le nombre toujours croissant des lecteurs un nombre croissant d'amis de la belle cause des missions.



## Appendice 3

*Le Précurseur*, no.1 May 1920, p.10.

Enfants, pour les petits Chinois  
Versez votre modique obole:  
Elle leur ouvre chaque mois  
Le ciel où leur âme s'envole  
Tout le long des chemins païens  
Ils gisent en légion sombre:  
Votre offrande en fait des chrétiens  
Et les arrache au froid de l'ombre

On les achète avec vos sous,  
Puis on découvre leur front blême,  
Et leur âme respandit sous  
L'eau rédemptrice du baptême.  
Beaucoup, hélas! Déjà meurtries  
Vagissent tristement et meurent,  
Mais, tandis que les corps flétris  
Sur la terre d'exil demeurent,

Voici que leurs regards sans feu  
Soudain, s'illuminent de flammes  
Quand toutes les splendeurs de Dieu  
Se montrent aux yeux de leurs âmes.  
Ils prient de tout leur petit cœur  
Pour vous, leurs amis et leurs frères  
Car, ils doivent leur pur bonheur  
À vos épargnes salutaires

Mélangez bien vos petits sous,  
Renoncez parfois aux oranges,  
Et vous pourrez presque à tous coups  
Vous acheter, au ciel, des anges  
Alors, Jésus, je vous le dis,  
Vous sourira, car vos aumônes,  
Aux prés fleuris au Paradis,  
Font germer bien des anémones

Enfants, pour les petits Chinois  
Versez, votre modique obole;  
Elle leur ouvre chaque mois  
Le ciel où leur âme s'envole.

Armand Chossegras, SJ

## Appendice 4

*Annales des Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* 43<sup>rd</sup> year September 1929.

### Une Édition canadienne

Voici que paraît en ce mois le premier numéro de l'édition canadienne de nos Annales missionnaires. Ce n'est pas un essai. Depuis de longues années l'édition française pénétrait chez un certain nombre des amis des Missions, qui s'intéressent plus spécialement à celles des Franciscaines Missionnaire de Marie à travers le monde. Mais le Canada, ayant depuis près de 40 ans, des établissements de notre Institut en plusieurs centres, ces maisons et leurs oeuvres ont aussi leur histoire particulière. Entourées de sympathie, de charité, elles ont leur Bienfaiteurs, leurs amis, et plus encore, sont en relation avec nombre de familles si généreusement chrétiennes qui ont donné pour l'Église et les âmes, ce qu'elles possédaient de meilleur, et avaient de plus cher: leurs enfants, devenues Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie.

A tous ceux-ci, l'édition canadienne offrira les nouvelles de cette famille religieuse à laquelle ils portent un intérêt spécial. 475 Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie, Canadiennes, se trouvent aujourd'hui à l'étranger [1929], surtout en mission. N'aimera-t-on pas suivre leur action, leurs efforts, les résultats consolants de leur apostolat ?

C'est donc avec confiance que les *Annales* se présentent, dans cette édition nationale, à leurs lecteurs canadiens.

Mais déjà aussi elles sollicitent humblement le concours de ces lecteurs pour la diffusion de cette revue qui veut être aussi intéressante qu'attrayante.

Les récits arrivent toujours variés, de tant de pays divers où les 216 maisons de l'Institut sont établies: nos collections de photographies sont remarquables aussi, les différentes éditions de nos annales françaises -italiennes- espagnoles- allemandes, ont la réputation d'être d'un intérêt toujours renouvelé, d'une littérature agréable, d'une illustration très soignée. L'édition canadienne ne veut pas leur être inférieure et elle se propose de ne rien négliger ni d'épargner dans ce but. Mais il faut en conséquence prévoir des frais élevés d'imprimerie, qui ne peuvent être couverts que par le chiffre d'abonnements nombreux.

Ce sont les Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie, elles-mêmes, qui sont les rédactrices, les compositrices, imprimeuses, etc. de leur Annales. Le puissant moyen d'apostolat qu'est la presse avait été compris et utilisé, dès les premières années de l'existence de l'Institut, par leur Vénérée Mère Fondatrice. Vanves, près de Paris, avait été la première imprimerie des Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie. On y forma celles qui devaient ensuite porter en pays de mission leur compétence et la communiquer aux nègres du Congo, aux Chinois, aux Japonais, etc. au grand avantage de l'apostolat.

## Appendice 5

*Le Précurseur*, vol 4 no. 9 May-June issue 1928

Législation scolaire de la Chine. Décret du département de l'éducation. Han-k'eou, 5 février 1927.

Ce document donnera une idée des réformes imposées par le gouvernement nationaliste et des dangers qui menacent les écoles religieuses.

"Considérant que nombre d'écoles étrangères n'ont pas présenté l'autorisation, que d'inconcevables dommages résultant de ce que l'enseignement et la discipline sont laissés au caprice de chacun, que les écoles de Han-k'eou sont très nombreuses, et que leur tolérance constituerait un obstacle à la civilisation nationale, nous avons décrété que:

- 1- Toute école étrangère, qu'elle soit religieuse ou non, doit se conformer au présent règlement;
- 2- Toute école, qu'elle ait fait ou non des déclarations officielles, doit renouveler sa demande, sans la suspension sera prononcée;
- 3- La procédure pour cette demande et la règle de fermeture sont les mêmes que les écoles privées;
- 4- Les programmes et règlements doivent être conformes à ceux des autres écoles. On ne doit point y mêler l'enseignement de la Bible, y faire des prières religieuses, ni quoi que ce soit visant l'apostolat religieux;
- 5- Le nom des écoles sera déterminé suivant le système en vigueur et non à la fantaisie de chacun;
- 6- Le supérieur des écoliers doit être chinois. Interdiction de s'immiscer dans ses affaires de direction ou de surveillance;
- 7- Que les élèves constituent des "Académies" scientifiques et prennent part aux mouvements populaires. Les directeurs doivent les encourager et les aider;
- 8- Dans toutes les écoles autorisées, nous enverrons des inspecteurs;
- 9- Le présent règlement entre en vigueur à partir de sa promulgation. De plus, l'école devra suivre les instructions du Kouo-min-tang et observer chaque semaine la réunion commémorative de Suen Wen. Un fonds de prévoyance (3 000 dollars pour les écoles secondaires et 500 pour les écoles primaires) sera déposé dans une banque désignée, et ne pourra être enlevé sans permission des autorités. Les écoles secondaires devront avoir pour 1 000 dollars de livres, et autant pour les instruments scientifiques. Les professeurs seront diplômés d'un institut d'entraînement" dans les principes du parti. Le programme comporte: Histoire des révolutions politiques et sociales à l'étranger. Conditions économiques et politiques actuelles de la Chine. Problèmes des traités inégaux. Idées économiques du Suen Wen, théories de l'État, esquisses de la construction de la nation. Histoire de la révolution chinoise. Règles pour réunions publiques, et théories des conférences.

## Appendice 6

List of major cities where Québec missionaries worked in China.

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1- Harbin       | 2- Taoan        |
| 3- Bairin Zuoqi | 4- Tongliao     |
| 5- Liaoyuan     | 6- Changchun    |
| 7- Shanyang     | 8- Chienlao     |
| 9- Jining       | 10- Zhangjiakou |
| 11- Beijing     | 12- Baoding     |
| 13- Taiyuan     | 14- Yentai      |
| 15- Weihai      | 16- Qingdao     |
| 17- Jinan       | 18- Anyang      |
| 19- Jiaozuo     | 20- Kaifeng     |
| 21- Xian        | 22- Xuzhou      |
| 23- Bengbu      | 24- Wuhe        |
| 25- Nanjing     | 26- Shanghai    |
| 27- Chongming   | 28- Hangzhou    |
| 29- Ningbo      | 30- Yichang     |
| 31- Shasi       | 32- Wuhan       |
| 33- Changsha    | 34- Kangding    |
| 35- Chengdu     | 36- Suining     |
| 37- Leshan      | 38- Yibin       |
| 39- Chongqing   | 40- Huili       |
| 41- Kunming     | 42- Mengzi      |
| 43- Anshun      | 44- Guiyang     |
| 45- Nanning     | 46- Guilin      |
| 47- Ningyuan    | 48- Canton      |
| 49- Macao       | 50- Hong Kong   |
| 51- Chaozhou    | 52- Shantou     |
| 53- Taipei      | 54- Gaoxiong    |

## Appendice 7

